THE ANCIENT TAMILS

AS DEPICTED IN

THOLHAPPIYAM PORULADIHARAM

PART I.

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GENERAL PREFACE.

This little book is a prose version of **Tholhappiyam Poruladiharam** written in a readable form so as to serve as one of the ancient Tamil classics for English readers. Although the early Tamil Poems display an 'aptness of language and a style, perfect for grace, terseness and suggestiveness that cannot possibly be reproduced in a translation,' attempts are made herein, as far as possible, to a fair rendering and to make the style simple and dignified and the treatment, sympathetic and inviting: the procedure adopted is also consistent with the hoary antiquity and the glory of this great monumental Tamil classics extant.

The honey-flowing Tamil language, one of the oldest, richest and most refined of tongues, is a splendid senior even to Sanskrit. But no Tamil work of the Primeval age is available at present. The sea has been the great devourer of the work of the grand old Tamil era. The Indian ocean was all land in the grand elder ages. Southern Asia was all swallowed by overwhelming inroads of the sea. There have been two huge deluges, the later of these

corresponds to the Biblical deluge of Noah's time (about 3500 B. C.) and the earlier is surmised to have preceded it by well nigh 6000 years. What have these two inundations been responsible for? They have in the first place obliterated from human view the glorious golden-gated cities of Madura and Kapadapuram: the Pandian monarchs had garnered behind these golden-gates the inestimable treasures of Tamil literature. Rich granaries, whence perennial life was flowing, of science, literature and all arts gained by the continuous activities of the first two enthusiastic Tamil Academies became a prey to the said overflows along with the cities themselves. Ages upon ages of continuous and enthusiasm-intoxicated culture and civilisation had resulted in shining literary masterpieces; but they all vanished beneath the roaring sea. What remained of the great æons was the eternal sob of the southern sea and the **Tholhappiyam.** That is the slight but magnificent segment from which with the eye of vision we can infer the whole circle of the grand age of Tamil civilisation. For the past 3,000 years, the Tholhappiyam has been the unfailing fount of inspiration for the students and scholars of Tamil Sociology.

What does the word or rather the phrase 'Tholhappiyam' indicate? Thol means 'hoary' and Kappiyam, 'poetic composition.' Like some grammars this is not an arid parched art but a peculiar Tamil Grammar bearing a venerable honeylike treatment of the science of literary composition.

The Tholhappiyam falls into three main divisions:—(1) Orthography (grammar of sounds and letters), (2) Etymology (grammar of words) and Syntax and (3) 'the subject-matter of Poesy' and Prosody. It is this last division which treats of a grand and systematic survey of the atmosphere of those ideas in which the ancient Tamils were inevitably breathing. While the rest of the world were yet bumbling and tumbling in the primeval chaos, Tamil genius had found its feet and was installing its victory stations in civilisation. The Tholhappiyam clearly indicates the grand growth of that mightily flourishing Tamil genius in those ages; organised society and organised philosophy are alike visible in this. In no other language, perhaps, in the world do we find a grammar, dealing with the subject-matter of literary compositions.

Alike in the energy and the sovereign conquering calm of its style it has no parallel

in Literature. Yet its metre—terse and antiquated—is abstruse both in matter and manner. Hence only the few heroic seekers after knowledge will gladly dig for its sweets.

Considering the immense value of Poruladiharam, the last of the three books of Tholhappiyam wherein are treated the importance and influence played by the early Tamilians in the ancient world, the present attempt is made to issue simple English prose versions of this difficult work written in aphorisms to bring to the easy-going lovers of the ancient noble Tamil those sweets and to the surface. Accordingly in this part the first three chapters have been translated with an elaborate introduction; the second part of this magnificent and immortal work giving a free rendering of the remaining chapters will be issued shortly.

May the sweet fragrance of the ancient and noble past blowing upon us in these pages bring calm and peace and a noble joy to the hearts of our readers.

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The Ancient Tamils as depicted in Tolkappiyam.

INTRODUCTION 1.

TOLKAPPIYAM—THE AUTHOR AND THE BOOK.

The family of the Author.

Tolkappiyam the earliest extant Tamil Grammar is named after its author Tolkappiyanar. Tolkappiyanar is the surname, as the commentators inform us, of Trnadhumagni, the son of one Jamadagni of the Bhargava clan. Kappiya means a descendant, physical or spiritual or one affiliated to the family of Kavi, otherwise called Sukra, who was the son of Bhrgu and hence a Bhargava. The Tolkappiya family (Tamil-kudi) was the most ancient (tol, meaning old) of the Kappiyas settled in the Tamil country. A certain Brahmana is described in the Silappadigaram, the first of the five great early Tamil epics (panja kaviyam) as an ornament of the ancient house of the Kappiyas. The Kappiyas apparently comprised different families, for besides

that of Tolkappiyanar, we hear of several other Kappiyanars.

Agastya, his teacher.

According to Tamil tradition Trnadhumagni was a disciple of Agastya. The first Agastya was the husband of Lopamudra, a Vaidarbha princess, contemporary of Alarka, King of Kasi, who lived twenty generations before Sri Ramachandra and about ten generations after Parasurama. The first Agastya founded the Agastya gotra and the Agastyas, along with the Bhargavas carried Arya culture south. In the age of Sri Ramachandra there were still on the banks of the Godavari, where the Rakshasas of the South India opposed their extension southward. In the puranas, the Agastyas are all amalgamated into one Agastya and spoken of as living from age to age, just as Vasishta and Viswamitra are treated. The gradual progress of the Agastyas southward and the various stations where they stayed are indicated in the legends connecting Agastya with the Vindhyas, Mount Vaidurya (the western part of the Satpura Mountains), Saubadhra on the southern ocean, Mount Malaya and finally Ceylon. The great convulsion of the Mahabaratha war with the consequent reduction of the power of the Kshatriya Rajas and the

decline in the popularity of the Arya Fire Sacrifices probably hastened the migration of the Agastyas and other brahmanas, seeking pastures new in the extreme south of India. An Agastya then settled in the Pandya dominions. Tamil tradition knows only of stations of Agastyas, like Mount Podiyal in the present Tinnevelly district, then included under the last of the Pandya Rajas. He was the last of the famous Agastyas, though Tamil tradition, following in this respect the practice of the Puranas, lumps the Agastya legends together and attribute them all to one man. To the Puranic legends regarding Agastya Tamil tradition adds the stories that he defeated Ravana who then ruled the South and that he was the priest of the Pandya and other legends making him the father of Tamil in several ways.

Agattiyam.

The name Agastya became Agattiyanar in Tamil. One legend says that he invented the language. Another says that he learnt it from Siva or His Son Subramanya and promulgated it. Possibly he might have developed the language, for he was the first Tamil Grammarian and he could not very well have made an analysis of the primal Tamil sounds and discussed its letters, without first having seen it with an alphabet. His

Tamil Grammar is called the Agattiyam. Tradition has it that he wrote two books, one a large book called Peragattiyam and the other a small one called Sitragattyam. It is certain that there was at least one Agattiyam, for quotations from it are found in the commentaries on Tamil poems written by scholars who lived within the last centuries, though the book has probably perished.

Tolkappiyanar and Agattiyanar—legends.

Tolkappiyanar was one of the twelve disciples of Agattiyanar. Nachinarkkiniyar, one of the commentators of the Tolkappiyam relates a quaint legend about a quarrel that arose between Agattiyanar and Tolkappiyanar. The story says that the master requested the pupil to escort his wife from her native country of Vidarbha to his own residence on the Podiyal hills. He also ordained that the pupil should walk at the respectable distance of the length of four rods away from the master's wife. On their way to the Podiyal hill they had to cross the Vaigai. The river was in flood and Tolkappiyanar was afraid that she would be carried away by the stream. So he held out to her a bamboo stick, which she crossed and with this help she reached the river bank. Agastya thereupon cursed both wife and pupil to the

effect that neither should reach Swarga. Tolkappiyanar was incensed at the injustice of the master and, in his turn, cursed that Agastya himself should not reach Swarga. Agastya then ordered his other disciples not to listen to Tolkappiyanar's book. One of them Adangottasan tried to find defects in the book and could not find any. This legend merely means that the disciple's book was so much better than the master's, that the Tolkappiyam supplanted the Agattiyam in popular estimation.

Payiram or poetic foreword.

Like all Tamil poems the Tolkappiyam is introduced by a poetic foreword called in Tamil Payiram.* This Payiram was composed by one of Tolkappiyanar's fellow-disciples by name Panambaranar. It runs thus :—The fair land where Tamil is spoken lies between Vengadam on the North and Kumari on the South. The grammar of its sounds, words and subject-matter of literature is based on both its common and poetic usage. Seeking a knowledge of this the author studied the nature of pure Tamil, the land suited to it and the previous work of Agastya. He desired to

* According to Tamil literary convention a foreword is a great necessity for every book ; it is, according to Nachinarkkiniar, like the mahout to the elephant, like the Sun and the Moon to the sky. The payiram is of two kinds general (podhu) and special (sirapphu).

systematize this knowledge and composed this immortal work, the correct tradition about the grammar of sounds and sums up other traditional grammatical knowledge. In the sabha of the Pandya King,* famous for conquering the world, he faultlessly expounded this work to the scholar of the village of Adangottu, well versed in the Vedas, which teach Dharma. The ascetic thus established his reputation in the earth surrounded by the sea abounding in water and made his name famous and monumental. The author, who had mastered the Aindiram was the recipient of many praises.

Aindiram.

The phrase 'Tolkappiyan filled with Aindiram' in the Payiram has to be noted. The Aindiram, in which Tolkappiyanar was well-versed, is the ancient Sanskrit grammar composed by one Indra, the chief of the Devas. A rival school was that of one Mahesvara, with whose sutras arranging Sanskrit letters in special groups, Panini begins his Ashtadyayi. Hence apparently there were two ancient schools of Sanskrit grammar, the Aindra school and the Mahesvara

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* The name of the Pandya king (Makirthi) is not found in the said stanza (Payiram), but is supplied by the commentator of the Tolkappiyam. Considering that the Pandya kings before the restoration of the Pandya dynasty in the 7th century A. D. had generally no Sanskrit but only Tamil names, Makirthi was perhaps but a title given to him in later days and not his proper name, and his contemporary Tamil title was that mentioned in the stanza, namely Nilandaru Tiruvirpandyan.

school of which Panini was the final exponent. Indra's book has not yet been discovered ; but it is believed that Katantra, Kachchayana's Pali grammar, and the Pratiskhyas belong to the Aindra school. In what points the Aindra school differed from the other are not known. From the Tolkappiyam it can be inferred that one point of difference was with regard to the number of cases of nouns, in the Solladigaram ii, 1. It is said, the cases are seven, says the preceptor Agattiyanar, and ii, 2, adds the 'cases are actually eight, counting the vocative case, used when a person is addressed.' Referring to this difference of opinion between master and pupil, the commentary on Subramania Dikshitar's Pirayogavivegam, 1, quotes a stanza that there was a scholar who said that the cases were seven and did not regard the vocative as a separate case, becasue it was but a form of the noun. Indiran said that the vocative was the eighth case. This perhaps was the first cause of the quarrel between these two Tamil grammarians.

Relation between Agattiyam and Tolkappiyam.

Tamil literary criticism distinguishes between primary works on a subject (mudanul) and derivative or secondary works on the same subject (valinul). Most critics have regarded the Agattiyam as

the mudanul of the Tolkappiyam; but the writers of the commentary referred to in the previous paragraph calls the Aindiram the mudanul of the Tolkappiyam. The writer of the Payiram, who was a friend and fellow-disciple of Tolkappiyanar refers to the Agattiyam as the mundhunul (previous work) and seems to avoid the word mudanul (primary work). The reason apparently is that even in the master's life-time the Tolkappiyam was a rival of Agattiyanar's book and ultimately supplanted it. Hence it is not right to regard the Tolkappiyam as being exactly derived from the Agattiyam. In some cases at least Tolkappiyanar differs from the teachings of his master. One is the question, whether the vocative is a case of the noun. But it cannot be denied that if the stanzas in Pannirupadalam and Palhappiyam, are closely perused the author derived certain principles from Agattiyam. From the payiram we also learn that the Tolkappiyam was published in the manner books were published in South India in ancient times, *i.e.*, by being recited before a king in his durbar; one of the audiences was the scholar of Adangudi village a fellow-disciple of Tolkappiyanar, acting the part of the critic. As tradition has it, he raised objections to various

rules in the Tolkappiyam and the author refuted the objections. This was the old South Indian method of the publication of a work, called Arangetral (publication in a sabba or audience chamber), and might well have taken place in the case of the Tolkappiyam. The king who presided at over the Academy of scholars was called 'he who was famous for conquering the world'. As already said later writers have given his personal name as Makirthi, but this word 'he of great fame' was probably not a personal name but a title, all the more so because no Pandya, before the end of the 6th century, when the Pandya power at Madura was revived after the Kalabhva interregnum, is known to have any but a pure Tamil name.

The Eluttadigaram of Tolkappiyam.

The Tolkappiyam is a grammar of Tamil in a wide sense of the word. It is divided into three books, of which the first is grammar of sounds and letters called Eluttadigaram and is a remarkable production considering the epoch in which it was written. Eluthu according to Tamil grammatical theory exists in two forms, Varivadivu and Olivadivu, the form of written symbols and the form of spoken sounds. The Tamil grammarians adoped the theory and spoke of the Varivadivu

and Olivadivu, visible and audible forms of the same noumenal sound, as a letter (eluthu). Hence the later Tamil grammar, Nannul begins with defining eluthu (letter) as the sound of (*i.e*., caused by) the group of atoms which is the first cause of a word. Eluthu is derived from 'elu' to rise, and implies that visible letters and audible sounds rise from a substratum of unmanifest sound. The ancient Sanskrit grammarians also held the theory that sound was eternal and increate and the ultimate basis of all objective matter. As the human throat acted upon by one form of nervous energy (prana) called udana sets the molecules of air in vibration and thus enables the noumenal sound (nada), to become phenomenal sound audible to the ear, so the human hand when it writes a letter makes the same sound visible to the eye. The uttered sound and the written letter are but cognizable forms (vadivu and rupa)—manifestations of the same noumenon.

The Eluttadigaram describes the ultimate letters of Tamil. It discusses the quantity of sounds, but does not distinguish voiced from breathed consonants. In Tamil as it is spoken nowadays all medial plosives, unless doubled in spelling, are voiced and all initial plosives are unvoiced. Certain people who

know Sanskrit pronounce words borrowed from this language by Tamil, as they ought to be pronounced in Sanskrit; in doing so they do not mind the Tamil spelling of these words. But this is a form of pedantry confined to a few and cannot be regarded as one of the genuine speech-habits of the Tamil people. Now the Brahmi script must have adapted to Tamil some time before the time of Tolkappiyanar; probably Agastya did it and that is perhaps the meaning of the story that he invented Tamil or was the father of the Tamil language. Whoever thus adapted the Brahmi script to Tamil, did he intend that the same letters should be used for the voiced and the breathed letters for the sake of economy of sound-symbols or were there no voiced plosives in ancient Tamil? For instance was the word for the serpent-gourd pronounced *putal* or *pudal*? Was the word for 'having seen' pronounced *kannu* or *kandu*? There is no means of answering these questions? Tamil certainly possesses voiced sounds; all its nasals, rolled lateral consonants and the fricative *V* are all voiced. The presumption therefore is that it used g, j, d, and b but preferred to indicate those sounds by the sombols of their unvoiced counterparts. This was perhaps for the sake of economy;

or perhaps the reason was that it is one of the Tamil speech-habits not to voice vigorously any voiced sound. Hence *v* is so weakly voiced that it loses its fricative labio-dental characteristics and is pronounced almost like the Burmese unvoiced m; cf. the v sound in English 'love' with that Tamil 'avan,' as the latter is pronounced. In the word 'pagal' (the nitter gourd), the second consonant is so little voiced that it degenerates into a weak h; and so on. This habit of the weak voicing of medial voiced plosive consonants (and there are no initial voiced plosives in pure Tamil words) perhaps stood in the way of the first grammarian of Tamil neglecting the difference between the voiced and the breathed plosives in spelling.

The Eluttadigaram in the later chapters of the book discusses the mutation of sounds, their amalgamation and their disappearance, when words are joined together to form phrases or sentences, which phenomena receive the name of 'sandhi.' It discusses various other questions connecting with spelling, which letters alone are found in initial positions and which in final positions, and such like matters; which display a very careful analysis of the facts of the Tamil language.

The Second Book is called Solladigaram; it deals with the grammar of words. It discusses gender, person, number, case, and other inflections, the different parts of speech, etc., all the matter relating to 'accidence'. This book is a most careful anylysis of the facts of Tamil usage, both in poetry and ordinary speech. It includes the classification of nouns according to their origin, also according to personal and impersonal, a distinction peculiar to Tamil and applicable to verb inflection, too, and all other grammatical facts of Tamil accidence. The order of words in a sentence being fixed, Tamil sentences do not possess the elasticity that is the characteristic of inflectional languages like Sanskrit and its congeners. Hence the only question or discussion in Tamil Syntax is 'concord' and, this, too, comes in for treatment in Solladigaram.

The Solladigaram of Tolkappiyam.

The Third Book, Poruladigaram, forms a special part of Tamil grammar not found in the grammars of Sanskrit or perhaps other languages in the world. It deals with the subject-matter of poetry, the incidents of life which form the object

The Poruladigaram of Tolkappiyam.

(porul) of poetic treatment. It contains also chapters on the emotions that poetry appeals to, figures of speech, prosody and idiom. Of these the latter are treated in Sanskrit treatises on Rhetoric, but the discussion of the subject-matter of poetry is peculiar to Tamil grammatical tradition and is a unique feature of Tamil treatises on grammar. This discussion is found in the first five chapters of Poruladigaram and constitute the main portion of the book. The last four chapters mostly deal with the technique of poetry. But the first five chapters throw a great light on the peculiar civilization evolved by the Tamils, before they were influenced by any foreign people, and these chapters have been translated in this work.

Tamil literature before the age of Tolkappiyar.

That much Tamil poetry was composed before the age of Agattiyanar may be assumed because no one can write a grammar of poetic usage as well on differenet kinds of poems unless they existed before him. The existence of this poetry also implies a long tradition of literary conventions, called in Tamil, pulanerivalakkam, based of course on social conventions, ulagavalakkam. Social conventions depend on the physiographic environment of

the people among whom such conventions arise; and poetry (excluding the artificial poetry of the later stages of literary evolution in India, in which the *estilo culto* took the place of the genuine effusions of the poetic instinct) being the mirror of life, conventions regarding the correlation of poetry to actual life have to be necessarily based on social conventions. An attempt will be made in this book to deduce from the first five chapters of the Poruladigaram of the Tolkappiyam, an account of the culture reached by the South Indians of old, unassisted by other people.

Now what has become of this literature on which the Agattiyam and the Tolkappiyam were based? It is believed by most people that all this early literature is now extinct. This belief is due to a tradition, first recorded in the commentary on Iraiyanar Agapporul, which was composed earlier than the VIII century. This commentary quotes a garland of verses, describing the amours of a Pandya king in 329 stanzas and illustrating all the possible incidents in the course of pre-nuptial and post-nuptial love. The analysis and cataloguing of these incidents is usually done in all treatises on erotics and the commentator apparently composed this garland of verses, with Varodagan,

king of Madura in the VIII century as hero and used one stanza to illustrate each of these incidents. The tradition says that the Pandya kings conducted in the course of long ages three Academies, called Sangams and that Southern Madura and Kapadapuram, respectively the Pandya capitals when the First and the Second Sangams flourished were swallowed by the sea by a sudden depression of the sea-coast; most people nowadays believe that the literature of the ages of the First and Second Sangams, except the Agattiyam and the Tolkappiyam, perished in this catastrophe; it is difficult to understand how books which in that age were imperishably inscribed on the tablets of memory and not on palm leaves or paper and were transmitted orally from generation to generation, could thus have perished, unless it was that the men who had learnt to recite those poems were at one stroke all drowned. The tradition goes on to say that the Third and last Sangam of early days was held in the present town of Madura and that the literature of this age consisted of Nedundogai four hundred (also called Agam four hundred), Kurundogai four hundred, Natrinai four hundred, Puram four hundred, Short five hundred, Ten Tens, one hundred and fifty Kali, seventy Paripadal, etc.

A few points have to be noted in connection with this enumeration. The eight books mentioned here are generally called the eight anthologies. Two other collections, *viz.*, 'The Ten Poems' and 'The Eighteen Minor Poems' now believed to belong also to the time of the Third Sangam are not mentioned by the commentator. 'The Ten Poems' are certainly of the same age as the later of the poems included in the eight anthologies, some of them coming from the authors of some of the latter. The ages of most of the minor poems which constitute the Eighteen anthology cannot be determined. Why the commentator on the Iraiyanar Agapporul has omitted 'the Ten Poems' from his enumeration cannot be discovered.

With regard to the poems collected in the Eight anthology, it has to be noted that they are not all of one age. The very first ode of the Puram four hundred, claims to be of the same age as the Mahabharata for it eulogizes Sera King, Udiyan Seraladhan of the Big Feed for having fed the opposing armies on the field of Kurukshetra. This poem thus claims to belong to circa. 1400 B. C., very much earlier than the age of the Third Sangam; the name of the author, Muranjiyur Mudivagarayar, is the only name of an ordinary human being men-

tioned by the commentator on the Iraiyanar Agapporul, in the list of members of the First Sangam the others being the Gods Siva, Subramanya, Kubera and the semi-mythical Agastya. Hence at least one poem of the Puram four hundred belongs to the age of the First and not the Third Sangam. Ode 52 of the Kurundogai is by Panambaranar, the friend of Tolkappiyanar and the author of the prefatory poem to the Tolkappiyam. Hence it belongs, according to tradition, to the age of the Second Sangam. Several other poems of the Eight anthology will prove to be very old poems if properly investigated. There are many that from the considerations of style may be held to be very ancient. The total absence of Sanskrit words, when not consciously aimed at, is a mark of antiquity, just as the occurrence of the word 'kamam' when a pure Tamil word will equally well serve the purpose is a mark of relative modernity; but no one has conducted research on these lines, for every one has taken the statement of the commentator at its face value. Ode 55 of the Kurundogai, for instance, is certainly much older than the bulk of the poems in this anthology. So, too, Natrinai, 108 and 115, Agam, 109 and several other pieces, which can be picked out by means of careful study.

Again the way in which old customs are referred to is another sure test of age. Thus before the Tamils learnt to weave cloth from the cotton fibre, women wore around the waist especially in the hilly tracts and the sea-coast, a few strong leaves and flowers of the lily, at first perhaps as an ornament, and then for modesty. Thus arose the custom of the lover presenting his mistress with a 'leaf-garment'. The custom continued amongst the hill-tribes and fisher-folk even after cotton cloth was woven in the river-valleys, where this older fashion of dress became confined to little girls*. Later the presentation of a leaf-garment became a literary convention and the actual wearing of it in the river-valleys by grown-up women became a matter of ridicule. Still later was evolved in literature the convention of a formal offer and a formal refusal by the heroine of the leaf-garment. Thus running so that the leaf-garment worn by her was shaking, is relatively old poem. So, too, probably the ode which speaks of 'the beauty-spot rising beautifully from the pudenda on which lay the cool, large leaf.' The following references to women of the lowest stratum of society wearing leaf-garment

* Even to-day little girls in South India wear a 'fig-leaf' made of brass, silver or gold. This is a relic of the old custom of ladies wearing a leaf-garment. Some uncivilized people in the interior still wear this leaf-garment.

are probably later. The rice-field where flashes the eel and where the women of the lowest rank, who had their hair tied in a knot on one side of the head and wore the cool leaf, were gathering the small beautiful naidal and the ambal (species of nymphæa.) In a later age evolved the idea that the wearing of a leaf-garment in public is an outrage, deserving of ridicule. Thus 'this young woman wore a leaf-garment; with that garment dangling on her pudenda, she walked along the street. Then arose in the streets a great sound of laughter'. References to children alone wearing the leaf are still later; such as, 'the small white lily formed my garment when I was a child; now that my wealthy husband is dead,........it gives me bad rice to eat.' 'Dear sisters over whose pudenda are worn the leaf.' In a still later age the offer of a leaf-garment and the refusal to accept it became a mere matter of literary convention.

There are other tests by means of which we can separate the earlier from the later ones. All poems by Brahmana poets belong to later times. The original Tamil bards were all 'Panars,' men who with yal (a kind of violin) propped against their shoulder and a tiny drum called 'udukkai' in their right hand strolled

about singing their songs and went from court to court, mansion to mansion.

They were highly esteemed by Kings. There are instances of Panar singing minatory poems to Kings when they went wrong and mediating between rival princes. Later the Panar became a little degraded, but it was still possible for a Nandanar or Tiruppanalwar to become saints on account of the intensity of their religious fervour. The above mentioned and other functions of Panar such as bearing love-messages of princes to their sweet-hearts and bringing them together when love quarrels occurred, fell to the portion of the Brahmanas when in or about the VI century A. D., Brahmana influence began to dominate South Indian religio-social life. This was in accordance with the conventions of the Sanskrit drama. Hence references in poems to Brahmanas performing such functions is a sure sign of the lateness of these poems. They belong to the age when the literary convention of the Sanskrit drama had begun to wield a profound influence on Tamil poetry, **which was in the earlier ages absolutely independent of Sanskrit literature**.

There again are a number of odes in the ancient anthologies the names of whose authors

have been entirely forgotten. They are hence named after some striking phrases that occur in the poems. For example, the author of Kurundogai 40, 41, respectively named Sembulappeyniror and Aniladumunrilar after phrases occurring in their poems. Such poems may be regarded as ancient, if linguistic or other tests do not prove them to be later ones. Of course, these and other tests of age have to be applied with caution. But it is sure that they will reveal many of the odes in the anthologies to be much earlier than the age of Tolkappiyam. But yet it is certain that a large number of the earliest Tamil poems have died, not only on account of physiographic catastrophes, but also to a certain extent of the fact that the later ones drove the earlier ones from the memory of men.

The last chapter of the Tolkappiyam, the chapter of literary tradition—marabial—deals, among other subjects, with the classification of literature according to its subject-matter. It says, 'compositions characterized by the fact that they do not violate literary tradition are of two classes, *viz.*, original and derived. An original work is one made by an ancient author whose wisdom has risen above the results of deeds good and bad so that real wisdom is obtained only when a man is above the world

of relativity. The derived work is based on that (*i.e.*, the primary one). The derived works are of four kinds: *viz.*, epitomes, expansions, works which contain both epitomes and expansions and translations following the original. This classification of literature by Tolkappiyanar shows that in his day there existed, besides odes, scientific and other literature of various kinds, besides translations from Sanskrit. All this literature, again, is now lost, having possibly been replaced by works of later times.

Sources of the Tolkappiyam.

In the Tolkappiyam itself, the author deals with grammar in the extended sense in which includes literary criticism. The only grammar which was composed prior to Tolkappiyanar's time is the Agattiyam. But Tolkappiyanar frequently uses such words as 'enba', 'moliba', meaning 'says he', (literally) 'say they', 'they' being a respectful reference to the wiser; 'enmanarpulavar', meaning 'say the learned'; 'moliba pulanularindore', 'say those who know the literary tradition', 'pulavar nuvanraraindanare', meaning 'the learned have established'. All these phrases are treated by the commentators as of the same significance, and as being used by the

author so that their length and measure might suit the exigencies of the metre. But one thing may strike us that the implied 'they' in 'enba' and 'moliba' is Agattiya and the other phrases refer to scholars in general. In one case at least, when Tolkappiyanar uses 'enba', it clearly refers to a statement in Agattiyam. This book having perished, it is impossible to prove the case. But the context where these phrases occur shows that Tolkappiyanar refers to his master generally when he uses 'enba' or 'moliba' and to scholars in general when he uses the other elaborate expressions in which 'pulavar' or 'pulanarindor', or the 'learned in tradition' occurs. If so, who are the scholars thus referred to? Tradition supplies the answer that these scholars ought to be but the eleven fellow students of Tolkappiyanar. These eleven, along with Tolkappiyanar the greatest of Agattiyanar's disciples, composed a grammar of Puram poetry, that dealing primarily with war, called Pannirupadalam. This book has also perished; but another book of a later age, composed by a Sera chieftain of the name of Aiyanaridanar and called Purapporul-venbamalai which claims to be based on the twelve chapters, gives an indication about what the subject-matter of this book was like. Besides this joint book by the twelve disciples,

Kakkaipadiniyar, Natrattanar, Aviyanayanar Vaippiyar and Panambaranar, fellow-disciples of Tolkappiyanar, composed books on grammatical subjects and these again have perished, being represented by a few quotations in later commentaries. These books probably perished because they were not complete treatises like the Tolkappiyam. Whether this was so or not, it is difficult to believe that Tolkappiyanar refers only to his fellow-members of the school of Agattiyanar and not to men who lived previous to his time as 'the scholars' who were authoritative teachers of literary tradition.

From a consideration of all the passages where the phrases occur we are driven to the conclusion that a long line of teachers of high literary talents existed before the time of Tolkappiyanar and his teacher Agattiyanar and that the latter did not invent the criticism of Tamil literature by his own unaided efforts. In India teachers of old taught always by word of mouth and knowledge floated, as it were, in the atmosphere of schools, for centuries before some enterprising person composed a regular book on the subject; Agattiyanar was the first to compose a grammar of the Tamil language and Tamil literature. In his chapters on Literary

Criticism he embodied the floating tradition current among the Tamil scholars of his time. Apparently Agattiyanar did not exhaust the available material, for Tolkappiyanar also draws largely from this source, as will be apparent from the translation of the Poruladigaram given in the following pages.

The Sutra style.

The Sutra or aphoristic style was also adopted by Sanskrit writers in Northern India in the age that succeeded that of the prolific style of the Brahmanams of the Veda. It was used for all subjects in which dogmatic instruction had to be imparted. Sutram means 'thread' and the series of short aphorisms were conceived as a thread on which were strung, like groups of gems, the oral expositions which were taught by the teacher to his pupils. The Sutrams were memorized and handed down unaltered, but the oral commentaries were naturally altered and expanded and illustrations added to, from generation to generation, as the literature grew from age to age. This Sutra style was suited to an age when literature was not reduced to writing but yet kept on expanding fast. The short aphorisms were indited intact on the tablets of memory but the profuse commentaries were

exposed to gradual alterations incidental to a vast body of growing knowledge handed down by tradition. Moreover, the stream of traditional interpretation has not been continuous but has become subject to interruption. So the commentators of the Tolkappiyam were often compelled to make their own interpretations of several suttirams. Naturally each imported into the suttirams his own theories of what ought to be the meaning of obscure passages. The result has been that commentators violently disagree in interpreting several suttirams. While we cannot at all understand the text without the help of the commentators, we can very often see that they are clearly wrong in several cases, as when they introduce anachronistic ideas. Hence to get at the heart of the author, as the Indians phrase it, one has to study the text without preconceived notions derived from a study of the commentaries and it is proposed to study the Tolkappiyam on these lines.

2

LOVE AND WAR.

The Subject of poetry.

As everywhere else in the world, so in ancient India, love and war were the chief prepossessions of powerful princes and petty princelings. Bards in early times flourished under the patronage of chiefs and the amatory and martial adventures of their patrons constituted the themes of old Tamil bardic minstrelsy. At first actual incidents of these adventures were celebrated in their songs by the poets, who were sumptuously fed and properly supported for aptly recording in sweet verse the experiences of their patrons in love and war. Later, it was noted that the course of love was regulated by natural causes, like the physical environment of the lovers and the changing characteristics of the various seasons. Romantic scenery stimulates love; bleak surroundings intensify the pangs of separation. In the spring a youngman's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of love; in the desolation of winter the absence of the lover wrings the heart most cruelly. The course of war in ancient times was also regulated by the seasons; wars were generally undertaken when the annual work of cultivation was over;

after the fields had been harvested and the crops garnered, princes set out on martial adventures to occupy them during the cold months of the year when the vigorous physical exercise was needed to make the blood course fast through the veins. At first the bards sang as do the lark and the nightingale, yielding to the unconscious promptings of the environment; but as the poems increased in number, describing all possible situations that might occur in the progress of love and war, the critical consciousness of the students of Tamil poetry was aroused and resulted in an investigation of all possible situations susceptible of poetic treatment and the various ways of singing about them, based on the actual practice of poets. This led to the development of literary criticism and the establishment of literary conventions, which form the subject of Poruladigaram of the Tolkappiyam.

Love and war as dealt with in poetry were given the names of Agam and Puram. These words literally mean Home and Abroad; hence by an easy metonymy, they indicate the ideas, inside and outside, subjective and objective. In literary criticism, Agam came to be applied to the several incidents that mark the

course of true love and the emotional experiences, blissful or otherwise, that result from each, such as can appeal only to the individual who undergoes the experiences and cannot be shared with other human beings. They belong to the inner life, the subjective world of thought. The painful pleasures and sweet pangs of love are proper to each individual and are hence rightly called Aham. Each of these are associated with the places and times of their occurrence; these and various physical objects become inseparably bound up with the several stages dealing with Aham ; and when poetic criticism became developed and literary conventions finally fixed, they constituted the subject-matter of the grammar of amatory poetry, Agattinaiyiyal, which is the first chapter of Poruladigaram.

Puram deals with the outer life of action, the adventures of heroes in the field of battle and the experience and associations pertaining to them. From olden time war, in India, was not generally prompted by the earth-hunger of princes; nor was it the occasion for the exercise of the lust to kill human beings which even the modern man is animated by, when the savage foundations of human nature on which culture and civilization have been

built up, are roused to activity. On the contrary, fighting was regarded as an occupation, or rather an amusement, for the season when the agricultural work of the year was over and time was hanging heavy on the hands of the heroes. War was an occasion for the exhibition of **personal prowess and skill** in the use of arms and for the development of the martial virtues, and not for giving way to the destructive instincts which form the less lovely inheritance of man from his savage ancestry. Hence the course of war was very strictly regulated by laws of chivalry and intertribal morality, which were never violated for securing tactical advantages in fighting. The strict control by law and custom of the various details of the progress of war and the places and times and associations of the various incidents led to the gradual development of literary conventions in the composition of war poetry, the grammar of which, called Puratinaiyiyal, forms the second chapter of Poruladigaram.

Social and literary convention.

That the conventions are based on the customs that prevailed among the people was well-known to the ancient Tamil grammarians. Chapter I, Suttiram

53 of Poruladigaram says :—Literary conventions follow those of the nadagam and of life. Nadagam here probably refers to the dumb show which was a popular form of dramatic representation in ancient India. This art still survives in Malabar where ancient South Indian customs, which have died out in the Tamil country, are still preserved. Hence the rules of rhetoric and poetic composition ought not to be regarded as arbitrary rules imposed on poets by critics, but as the reflection of the life of the people in the mirror of poetry. Certain modern critics have made the hasty generalization, from the study of certain later specimens of Sanskrit and Tamil poetry, that Indian literature unlike European literature, is entirely divorced from the actualities of life. The above quotation from the Tolkappiyam gives the lie to this remark. Indian poetry is as much an interpretation and a criticism of life, as is the poetry of other countries; and the life of the ancient Tamils can be inferred from ancient Tamil poetic literature, quite as well as the life of the ancient Greek and the ancient Romans can be deduced from the literature of Hellas and of Rome.

Agattinaiyiyal means the chapter which deals with the class of poems called Aham and expound the laws which have been observed by the composers of amatory poetry. The word 'iyal' in this word means chapter. The proper meaning of the word 'iyal' from which the more common form 'iyarkai' is derived, is nature, characteristic essential quality. As a chapter of a book deals with the essential characteristics of the subject dealt with therein the word 'iyal' has come to mean a subdivision or chapter of a book. Agattinaiyiyal is therefore the chapter of the Poruladigaram dealing with Agam; it is the grammar of erotic poetry, because the grammar of a subject describes its essential nature. So, Purattinaiyiyal is the grammar of war-poetry. The word tinai, meant originally 'land,' 'place,' 'site'. The meaning was thence extended in various directions. Thus the five natural regions which led to the development of different classes of cultures—the nomadic, the coastal, etc., were each called a tinai. This word became later a technical word of grammar and of literary criticism, one of its meanings being a class of poetry, a kind of poetic treatment. Thus *Agattinai and Purattinai* became the names of the two classes of

ancient poetry (amatory and martial). Another use of the word tinai will occur in the next chapters.

The first two chapters of Poruladigaram deal with the general characteristics of these two kinds of poems. The remaining chapters discuss in great detail the substance of Agam and Puram, more especially the former, and the form and diction of poetry.

3

ANCIENT TAMIL CULTURE.

The five tribes.

It is easy to eliminate from the Tamil Vocabulary all words which have been borrowed from Prakrit and Sanskrit during the last twenty-five centuries. The study of the pure Tamil words that result from this elimination reveals the fact that the Tamils attained a high degree of culture without extraneous help and that culture was by no means inferior to that reached by the people of Northern India when the Rishis were born in their midst and taught them the Vedic mantras. The men of the coastal region, chief of whom were the Paradavar, were hardy

fisherfolk, expert pearl-divers, and bold sailors. In their frail bottom canoes and wicker-work boats they sailed to Persia, Babylonia and Syria, hugging the coast and even crossed the Arabian Sea straight to East Africa and traded to those distant lands. The Maravars of the dry sandy region were brave fighters and led a care-free life of simple joys. The Kuravars of the hilly tract were adventurous hunters, who did not shrink from facing the tiger, armed with a bamboo bow and a solitary arrow. They were also well-skilled in plant-lore and could cure the various bodily ills by means of simples picked from the hill-side. The Ayars of the region between the mountains and the low-river-valleys led a pastoral life. They tended cattle and sheep. A branch of these, the Kurumbers wove rough cloth with the wool picked from the sheep they reared. The cow-herds and shepherds led a life of mirth and jollity, drinking and dancing, and singing and love-making, unoppressed by pessimistic considerations about the burdens of life or by the desire to escape the wheel of re-birth. The Vellalas of the low country were skilful agriculturists; they irrigated their fields from flowing rivers and standing pools, by means of canals and water-lifts; they raised the rice and the millets, the pulses and lentils that

formed the main food stuffs of the Tamil people; they grew cotton and wove cotton cloths of supreme excellence, thin as the scales of the serpent; they were clever carpenters and built houses and carts and made tools of timber.

The art of composing poems and singing them to the accompaniment of the Yal (a kind of violin) was also developed very early in the evolution of their culture. They invented literary models and established literary conventions of their own; they refined the vernacular speech and developed literary dialect much earlier than the Greeks. Unlike the language of modern Europe and Northern India, literary Tamil and Tamil literature did not require the help of classical language like Greek or Latin or Sanskrit to enable their speech to serve the purpose of literary expression and to furnish models of composition in sweet poetry and limpid prose.

The Arya cult.

Before the fourth millennium B. C. there arose in Northern India the Arya cult. The word Arya is here used without the racial implications imported into the connotation of the word by European historians who, ignorant of anthro-

pology, imported into Indian History the notion of an Aryan race and an Aryan invasion of India, of which there is no evidence. 'Arya' has always been a cult-name and not a racial designation in India. Its essential characteristic was the worship of the Gods through Agni who was their mouth. The fire-cult was developed into gorgeous rites by the gifted poets, called Rishis, who gave it a literary embodiment in the Vedic mantras, composed in Sanskrit, which was a literary language from the early times when it was embodied in verse. The fire-cult was, from the very beginning, violently opposed by the rest of the people of North and South India, to whom the Rishis gave the opprobrious names Dasyus, Asuras and Rakshasas. Hence there existed in ancient India side by side for a long time two civilizations, the Arya, based on the fire-cult and the Tamil, based on a fireless cult (anagnih). Though there was social and commercial intercourse between the two, their rivalry kept the streams of religion and literature severely apart from each other. At first both cults were based on an appreciation of the good things of the world. The Arya and the Dasyu enjoyed meat and drink and all the amenities that mollify the flesh of man, after offering them to the gods—the

former through the Fire-God and the latter without the intervention of Agni, for whom they had no use in worship. Soon there was a parting of the ways. The Rishi-teachers of Aryan India developed a profound sense of pessimism; they realised the utter vanity of all earthly joys and developed the virtue of Mumukshatvam, the intense desire of escape from endless compulsory earthly life while their poets continued to sing of the pleasures of eating and drinking and love-making. In the age of the Mahabharata war, the Kshatriyas, who were the patrons of the fire-rites and for whose post-mortem benefits most of the great Yagnas were performed, were mostly exterminated. As a consequence, the fire-cult and the fireless cults were amalgamated and various schools of ascetism arose which blended the pessimistic concepts of the later Vedic teachers and the practices of the fireless worship of the images of the gods, called technically the Agama cult. The Agama cult was the fireless worship of images or symbols of single gods in temples dedicated to such worship, while the Vaidik cult was the worship of multiple gods through fire lighted in temporary structures called Yaga-salas, with Brahmanas acting as priests. The Agama cult in former times did not recognise

caste in practice, as even now it defies caste in theory. This cult existed in the age of the Rishis and even before. But the Vaidika cult received literary embodiment when the Rishis taught the Vedic mantras to their disciples (3000-1500 B. C.); the Agama cult was embodied in Sanskrit books called Agamas, composed after the war of the Mahabharata, most of which are yet kept secret. The living religion of modern India is primarily Agamika and not Vaidika, Vaidika practices being confined to a small minority of the population. When these ascetics—Brahmina, Jaina and Bauddha and others—spread in South India, the life and literature of the Tamils came under the influence of Sanskrit literature and the Aryan civilization of North India. The Tolkappiyam belongs to the epoch when the mixed northern culture had been to some extent imposed on **the previously well-developed culture of the Tamils**; while it faithfully records that previous culture, it contains evidence of the attempt to fit the new ideas to the old life, as will be shown in the succeeding pages.

CHAPTER I.

AHATTINAIYIYAL

(Grammar of amatory Poetry).

Two kinds of love.

Early Tamil Poetry was chiefly composed in the form of short odes. Each ode dealt with one particular situation or emotional experience in the course of love. This love was of two kinds, called Kalavu and Karpu, *i.e.*, pre-nuptial love and post-nuptial love, respectively. The former was more frequently celebrated in poems than the latter, because the element of romance is more predominant in the pre-nuptial variety of love than in the post-nuptial variety. Another reason probably was that pre-nuptial love culminating in the sacrament of marriage was more prized by the ancient Tamils than the love which starts after the nuptial ceremony, such as is almost universal nowadays. The spontaneity and suddenness of the birth of pre-nuptial love lends it an element of charm which attracted poets; moreover the course of Kalavu involved marriage by capture, the abduction of the object of passions without the knowledge and against the opposition, of the parents and

relatives of the bride, which invests it with the factor of romantic adventure. Marriage by capture was an ancient institution among men of all climes. Carrying away the beloved from her home without the knowledge of her parents after the natural marriage by the consummation of love is a development of the custom of marriage by capture prevalent among people who have not risen above the savage level of human culture, and relics of it have persisted in the marriage customs of later days. The chivalrous rescue by a Knight of a maiden imprisoned by a dragon or even by jealous parents, which is the subject of many poems of the middle ages in Europe, was, but a form of marriage by capture. The modern custom of throwing shoes at the married couple when they emerge from the Church after the wedding-rite is a remote echo of the attempt to recover the abducted girl during the times when marriage by capture prevailed. Among the Tamil people, marriage by capture disappeared by the time bards arose among them and sang of love and marriage; but Kalavu involved a reminiscence of the older custom of marriage by capture. It was for this reason that this form of marriage was called Kalavu, or theft of the bride. Kalavu may also be connected with the hypothetical

root *Kal* meaning glee, joy that intoxicates (whence Kalippu); also *Kal* (liquor); this is an apt description of pre-nuptial love which causes ecstatic bliss. This kind of love is love at first sight, which overwhelms the soul as soon as it is born, and brooks no delay but compels immediate consummation. The other form of love is Karpu, post-nuptial love—that which starts with the wedding-rites and grows and shines as a steady flame, illuminating the soul so long as it inhabits the body of flesh. Karpu does not involve marriage by capture, but is one with the consent of the parents and relatives of the bride and celebrated in accordance with the rules prescribed by custom. Some scholars have suggested that Karpu is derived from *Kal* to learn for the woman has got to learn the duties of married life before leading a life of Karpu, loyal love to the spouse which constitutes chastity; but this is not a convincing etymology, because chastity is an affair of the heart and not of learning. Perhaps Karpu is derived from a hypothetical Kan, to give birth to a child; the aim of Karpu, unlike that of Kalavu, is not so much bliss as the bearing of children and the enjoyment of the less intoxicating joys of wedded ife. Possibly Karpu is derived from '*Kal*', meaning 'mind'.

The five regions (tinais).

The different stages of love have been in ancient Tamil poems correlated to the different kinds of natural environment so that it is necessary to give an account of the different natural divisions of the Tamil country as noted and described by the poets. They divided the land into five regions, which they called tinais. These regions were respectively called the Palai (dry, waterless, waste-land), the Kurinji (the hill country), the Mullai (the jungle tracts that intervene between the uplands and the lowlands), the Marudam (the lower courses of rivers, the damp region where wet crops can be raised), and the Neydal (the coastal tracts). All these five kinds of natural regions are found in the Tamil country and since man has continuously inhabited the Tamil land since he first appeared on the globe, he passed therein through the different stages of human culture and each region preserves the characteristics of the stage of culture peculiar to it. The geographic control of life and growth is an idea recently reached by science and newly expounded in treatises on Anthropogeography, but the ancient Indian poets very well understood that the growth of man is not only conditioned by his environment but has been the gradual re-action of his innate endow-

ment to the varying physiographic conditions in which he had lived at various stages of his history. The first stage of human culture was that of the nomad, the homeless wanderer on Palai land. The next stage was the life of the hunter developed on Kurinji land. This was followed by the pastoral stage suited to the Mullai region. On Marudam, he learnt to 'control the flood' and became a Velala and reached the agricultural stage of culture. The inhabitant of the Neydal became the trader. The different stages of the evolution of human culture arose in these different regions as man shifted from one to another of them, and each kind of culture predominates in the region suited to it even to-day, though man by constant travel has abolished the boundaries of these regions and culture has blended with culture everywhere on the globe.*

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* It is interesting to note that Professor Bower, F. R. S., writing in *Nature*, 18th September 1926 and urging the necessity of biologists "studying Nature face to face", for understanding "the close relation between environment and variatoin", which is "the very core of evolution", classifies environment as "the open forest, the sea-coast, steppe and mountain side", that is, Mullai, Neydal, Palai and Kurinji. Thus do ancient Tamil and Modern European classifications meet. Professor Bower omits Marudam, because land cultivated by man masks biological problems which can be best studied only in the grand laboratory of Nature.

Tinai, in the sense of sub-class of poetry.

The word Tinai also means sub-class of poetry. Thus Ahattinai, the great division of poems that deal with love, is sub-divided into seven minor divisions, each called a tinai. The seven tinais of Aham are referred to in the first and second Suttirams of the Agattinaiyiyal of Poruladigaram, which say that the seven tinais of Agam are those that begin with Kaikkilai and end with Perundinai. Aindinai (the five tinais *par excellence*) stands between them; of these, with the exception of the middle one among them, the teacher has distributed among the regions of the world, which is surrounded by the sea. Kaikkilai and Perundinai will be explained later. The tinais that stand between them are Kurinji, Mullai, Palai, Neydal, and Marudam. Palai the middle one of the five tinais has been excluded by Agattiyanar from this distribution for reasons which will be explained presently.

Porul or subjects of the tinais.

The subjects that may be referred to in each of these five tinais or sub-divisions of love-poetry are of three kinds. An examination of literary convention, reveals, as the best subjects of literary composition, the primary, the essential, and the specific topics

of the tinais. These are respectively called Mudarporul, Karupporul and Uripporul.

The Uripporul (specific topics) of the five tinais.

Tinai, besides the meanings of the word explained above, also means the conduct peculiar to each natural region; and five tinais, sub-classes of love-poems, are named after the five natural regions, because to each region is allotted the conduct appropriate to that region. Thus the union of lovers is peculiar to Kurinji, their parting to Palai, the heroine waiting for her lover to Mullai, lamentations on account of long separation to Neydal and lovers' quarrels to Marudam. Suttiram 14 says, 'Union, parting, waiting, lamentation, quarrel, and the causes of these, are found to be the Uripporul, specific topics of the tinais'.

Kurinji, which starts the course of pre-nuptial love, is the most important tinai, sub-division of Agam, *i.e.*, love-poetry. It consists of two sub-incidents, the first accidental sight to the mistress and the second their union. Tolkappiyanar says, the first union of the lovers and his seeing her take place at the same time and place.

It will be noticed that the Palai has been omitted from the list of regions in Suttiram 14

and its God not mentioned. Palai parting, is of two kinds as Suttiram 15 says, 'The parting of the heroine from her people when the lover elopes with her, and her lamentations when the hero goes away from her after union: both, says the teacher, occur in the same place, *i.e.*, Palai.'

Agattiyanar excluded Palai from the list of regions, though it is one of the tinais, *i.e.*, classes of poetry; but other ancient teachers of literary tradition continued to divide the regions into five. Agattiyanar omits Palai (desert land) from this list, because in South India, desert land of any considerable size does not occur, but small patches of uncultivable land exist between other regions. Another reason for omitting Palai from the list of regions is that the parting of lovers may occur in any region; hence literary usage sometimes regards the separation of lovers as also pertaining to any one of the five regions. Those people that belonged to the Agastya School of grammatical thought always speak of the 'four regions' of the earth. Natural reasons for associating each incident in the course of love with a particular region are not hard to find. The romance of hilly scenery and the possibilities that Kurinji affords to young men and women for meeting in solitude,

explain why their union pertains to that region. The desolation of the desert is appropriate to their parting. The pastoral life of cowherds and shepherds involves a daily separation of the lovers and, though the man may console himself with playing on the flute and observing the scenery of the forest and the lives of the birds and beasts that inhabit it, the woman has to sit by herself desolated at home. Neydal imposes a longer and a more painful separation between the lovers and the risks of sea-voyages cause long lamentations, especially on the part of the woman. The lazy life of Marudam furnishes occasions for frequent lovers' quarrels which end with sweet kisses of reconciliation.

Notwithstanding the above explanation of the appropriateness of each love incident to one of the five regions, the question will persist in the mind of the modern reader why the first meeting of the lovers and their first love-communion should be restricted to Kurinji, the hilly country. Nachchinarkkiniyar himself felt it necessary to raise this question and answer it. He says in his commentary on Suthiram 14, 'Though the hero and heroine come together in four regions, their first intercourse which occurs in Kurinji has a special importance.' This does not answer the question why the first inter-

course should take place in hill tracts. The earliest form of marriage was the natural intercourse of two people who happened to meet in solitude and fell in love with each other. As man first lived in Kurinji, this became the old orthodox form of marriage. When, in other regions, marriages accompanied by rites arose, this natural marriage continued to be the norm in Kurinji and hence arose the literary convention that the first marriage must take place in Kurinji.

Another Uriporul: heroes of the tinais.

The heroes of each tinai are also essential objects of the tinais. They are the chiefs of the tribes who live in each tinai. Says Tolkappiyar :—'The names of the chiefs of the tinais (like the names of the tribes living there), are of two kinds, those derived from the nouns and the verbs pertaining to the tinais. The men of Mullai and Kurinji are respectively herdsmen and hunters ; their chiefs are the heroes of the tinais ; the women living in those regions are the heroines. Similarly the heroes of the other regions are the chiefs of the tribes living there.' The names of the tribes living in the various regions and of their chiefs so briefly referred to by Tolkappiyar are enumerated in detail by the commentators.

From them we learn that the men of Kurinji are Kanavar (foresters), Vettuvar (hunters), Iravular (those that deal death, *i.e.*, live by the chase), Kuravar (mountaineers), Kunruvar (hill-men); the women being called Kurattiyar, Kunruvittiyar, Kodichchiyar (probably the women that dance the Kodi, *i.e.*, the dance of Murugan); the chief of Kurinji, Malainadan (lord of the hilly region), Verpan, the lord of a hill, Silamban, hill-chief, Poruppan, hill-lord. The men of Mullai are Ayar, tenders of cattle; Kovalar, cowherds; Idaiyar, men of the middle region; Poduvar, herdsmen; the women (Idaichchiyar, Kovittiyar, Aychchiyar, Poduviyar); their chief, Annal (the elder); Tonral (the younger). Kurumborainadan, lord of the forest. The men of Neydal are Nulaiyer, literally men of low tribe, Timilar, boatmen; Paradavar, fishermen; the women, Nulaittiyar, Parattiyar; the chief, Serppan (lord of the district adjoining the sea), Turaivan, lord of the harbour; Kongan, Mellambulamban (lord of the brackish district. The men of Marudam are Kalamar, farmers (men of the threshing floor), Ulavar (ploughmen), Kadaiyar, field-labourers (keepers of the flock of cattle kept on fields for manuring them); the women, Ulattiyar, Manaiyal, housewife; Kadaichchiyar; the chief, Mahilnan (lord), Uran, village headman. The men of Palai are Eyinar,

Eyirriyar (cowmen); Maravar, death-dealers; the women, Marattiyar; the chief, Mili (the strong man); Vidalai, steer; Kalai, bull. This subject of the allocation of tribal heads to the tinais will be further discussed later on.

Mudarporul or Primary topics.

The Primary topics of the five tinais are of two kinds. The preceptor who understands Nature says that the primary topics are characteristic times and places of the incidents of love. The places are the five tinais (regions) already described. For the purpose of associating appropriate times with the tinais, time is divided into days, the years into six seasons of two months each and the civil day into six yamams or watches of four hours (the Indian hours) each. The six seasons are Kar, the dark or rainy season; Koodir, the cold season; Munpani, the season of evening dew; Pinpani, the season of morning dew; Ilavenil, the season of the young (mild) sun; and Muduvenil, the season of the old (strong) sun. Each of the above six seasons extends over a period of two months, Kar beginning with the middle of August. The civil day is divided into Malai, evening; Yamam, the middle of the night, Vaigarai, the time from two in the morning till day-break, *i. e.*, the early morning watch; Kalai, the morning; Nanpagal,

the middle of the day, from ten A. M. to two P. M. and Erpadu, afternoon, the time when the sun is falling down in the west. The times suited to the tinais are described in the following suttirams :—The learned say that Kar and Malai are suited to Mullai, and Koodir and Yamam to Kurinji. The teacher says that Munpani also belongs to Kurinji; Vaigarai (and especially) vidiyal, day-break, are appropriate to Marudam, and Erpadu to Neydal, Palai, the tinai that stands in the middle, is associated with the Nanpagal, the middle of the day, belonging to the hot weather, Venil, *i.e.*, the seasons of the young sun and the old sun. Pinpani, the later dewy season also belongs to Palai. The two kinds of parting, when they take place also belong to Palai, say the learned. The two kinds of parting, as already explained are that of the lover from the heroine and the latter from her people. The natural connection between the tinais and the seasons and hours appropriate to them is obvious.

Karupporul or seed topics of the five tinais and their Gods.

Tolkappiyar defines the seed-topics to each tinai as follows :—' God, food-stuff, beast, tree, bird, drum, occupations, yal, and others are said to be the seed-topics. He mentions the Gods of the different regions in the following Suttiram :—' The

regions are in order called Mullai, Kurinji, Marudam and Neydal, being respectively the forest region beloved of Mayon, the hilly country favoured by Seyon, the land of sweet waters, *i.e.*, lower liver valleys desired by Vendan (the King of the Gods, Indiran), and the sandy world (sea-coast) dear to Varunan (the God of the sea). In this Suttiram, the God of the Mullai, the district where cattle graze in large herds and the herdsmen and the milk-maids live and love is called Mayon, the black God. The Sanskrit for 'black' is *Krsna*; and Krishna is the favourite God of the milk-maids of Arya-vartta, the land of the Aryas, India, north of the Vindhyas. Mayon is from Tamil Mayam, which means blackness, also beauty; the beau-ideal of a black people was a coal-black individual. Mai, as a verb, has the allied meaning of 'to vanish', Hence Mayon is one who disappears quickly. In the Rig Veda, Krishna appears as the great enemy of Indra. He is 'the fleet (*drapsah*) Krishna', 'lurking in the hidden region near the Amsumati, like the sun in a cloud'. If, for the time being, we cleared our minds of all prepossessions derived from Indian religious tradition and European critical theories regarding Krishna and Indra, and think with the early Tamil poets of Krishna as the God of

the pastoral tribes and Indra as the God of agricultural tribes, we could understand correctly the passages of the Rig Veda and the Purana about the quarrels between Krishna and Indra. Krishna was the protector of cattle and Indra, the bringer of rain; and when war broke out between the pastoral and the agricultural tribes, naturally it was a war between Krishna and Indra. Krishna was a God long before the time of the historic Krishna, son of Devaki, and King of Dvaraka.

Seyon means the red one. He was the God of the hill-tribes and called Murugan. Sivan also means the 'red one'; so, too, Rudra, and when in later times the cult of the northern Mountain-God, Rudra, became correlated with that of the Southern hill-deity, the latter was given the Sanskrit name of Subrahmanya, and the two Gods were regarded as father and son, and the words Seyon and Murugan were explained as meaning 'son'. Astronomic and other myths gathered round the son (Kumara) of Siva, and the Gods Karttikeya, the nurseling of the six sisters who form the Pleides (krttika), Visakha, the God of the constellation Visakha, Skanda, and Mahasena, the Commander-in-Chief of Siva, were amalgamated with the South Indian hill-God. These Gods were different beings

down to the V century after which they were made one.*

Indrian was the God of the agricultural region; the people gave him cooked rice to eat and brewed liquor to drink and he smoke the clouds for them and caused the rain to pour on their rice-fields. Indra, like his farmer-devotees, spent the long months of leisure which the life of the farm-worker could always command in idle love-passages, lovers' quarrels and re-conciliations. Varunan was the lord of the sea; he was worshipped by the sturdy but dirty, the joyous but evil-smelling fisher-folk; he helped them to get large hauls of fish and saved them from disaster during storms. The gods, Indiran and Varunan being superior Gods of the Vedic Pantheon, most people believe that they originally belonged to North India or even to countries outside the boundaries of India and were borrowed by the Tamils in recent times. But it appears that all the Gods mentioned above and the Tamil rites of their worship came down from Pre-Aryan India.

Nachchinarkkiniyar, notwithstanding the load of Aryan tradition accumulated around

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* This is very clearly proved by means of numismatic evidence by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar. *Vide* his Carmichal lectures for 1921, pp. 22-23.

these ancient Gods, is yet able to isolate the ancient rites of the Tamils in worshipping these Gods ; and as he has taken them from old Tamil works, we find they are the early fireless, *anarya* rites of Pre-Aryan times. He says, 'He manifests himself when the cowherds of Mullai region dance the Kuravar dance and offer many plates of boiled rice and beg Mayon to shield their many cows which yield the milk which is his oblation, so that they may prosper. Murugan manifests himself when for Kurinji land the Kuravar and the rest congregate and dance the Veri dance with the materials necessary for it. Indiran manifests himself in the Marudam region when they celebrate there the festival of its lord and invite thereto Him who is the King of the Gods who enjoy the sweet pleasures of love comprising dancing and singing, love-quarrels and reconciliations and the King of the sweet-toned cloud, so that the inhabitants of Marudam may carry on the special love-passages of quarrels and reconciliations. Varunan manifests himself in the Neydal region when the fishermen, their nets having proved unlucky, gather with their relatives, plant the horn of the shark and offer praises to Him. It will be noticed that the rites described above are totally different from the Aryan

fire-rites celebrated in honour of Vishnu or Indra or Varuna.

It will be noticed that Tolkappiyanar does not refer to the God of Palai region because he belonged to the Agastya school which regarded the habitable regions as only of four kinds, though the tinais of poetry were five. Hence Nachchinarkkiniyar says that the God of Palai is identical with that of the neighbouring region. But others, for instance the author of Palaikkali, a sera chief of the name of Perungadungo, regarded the sun-god as the God of Palai. In one of his poems the author makes the heroine pray to the sun for the safe return of her lover who had gone to distant regions in quest of wealth. He thus regards the sun as the God of Palai. Nachchinarkkiniyar objects to appropriating the sun as the God of Palai, because he is common to all regions. It may be noted in passing that the regions have been named after their characteristic trees and flowers.

The foodstuffs peculiar to Mullai, the woodland region, are the millets, varagu (*Paspalum frumentaceum*), samai (*Panicum*), and the lentils, mudirai ; the beasts, the deer, the stag, and the hare ; the trees Konrai (*Cassia*), Kurundu (a tree of fragrant foliage), and the tall-grass called pudal ; the birds, the jungle fowl and the

partridge; the drum called erukotparai; the occupations, grazing herds, garnering millets, bull-racing; yal, mullai-yal, the tune called sadari; the flowers, mullai (*Jasminium Trichotomum*), pidavu (a wild shrub with fragrant white flowers), talavu (*Jasminum Sambuc*), and tonri (a kind of red lily); source of watersupply, forest streams; and villages, those whose names end in padai, seri, and palli.

Appropriate to Kurinji are the foodstuffs, aivana rice (that of mountain paddy), thinai (*Panicum Italicum*), and bamboo-rice; the beasts, the tiger, the elephant. the bear, and the boar; the trees, the agil (*Aguila or eaglewood*), the aram or atti, (*Bauhinia racemosa*), the teak, the timusu and the vengai (varieties of *Pterocarpus*); the birds, the parrot and the peafowl; the drums, murugiyam and tondagam, the drum used in sacred dancing; the occupations, honey-gathering, collecting tubers, raising the millets called thinai, etc., the extermination of locusts; yal, that called Kurinji yal and the tune called Kurinji; the flowers, vengai, Kurinji (*Lawsonia spinosa*), Kandal (*Gloriosa superba*), and sunaikkuvalai (water-lily); source of water-supply, mountain streams and tanks; and villages, those whose names end in ur, sirukudi, and kurichchi.

The objects essential to Marudam are the foodstuffs, red rice and white rice; the beasts, the buffalo and the beaver; the trees, marudam (*Terminatia alata*), the Kanji tree, and the creeper called vanji; the birds, the duck and the water-fowl, called nirkkoli, the swan and the nightingale; the drums, the marriage-drum and the harvest-drum; the occupations, sowing and transplanting, weeding, harvesting and bull-racing; the yal, that called maruda-yal and the tune called marudam; the flowers, the lotus and the red-water-lily (*nymphcea rubra*); sources of watersupply, the river, housewells and ponds; and villages, those whose names end in ur.

Pertaining to Neydal are foodstuffs bought with the proceeds of the sale of fish and salt; the animals, bullocks and buffaloes bearing bags of salt, the crocodile, and the shark; the trees, punnai (*alexandrial laurel*), nalal, (*crocus sativus*) Kandal, (*Pandanus odoratissinus*); the bird, the sea-crow; the drum called minkotparai, fishing-drum; the occupations, fishing, salt-manufacture and the sale of fish and salt; the yal called Neydal yal and the tune sevvali; the flowers, Kaidai, (*the wild pine*) and neydal (*nympha alba*); sources of water-supply, wells in sandy tracts and pools in salt-marshes and the sea; and villages, those whose names end in pattinam and pakkam.

Suited to Palai were foodstuffs resulting from highway robbery and pillage; the beasts, emaciated elephants, tigers and wild dogs; the trees, dried up iruppai, (*Bassia longifolia*) mango, ulinai (*Oerua lanater*), a kind of cotton plant, nemai, palai (*mimusops hexandrus*), iron-wood tree, Kalli (*Emphorbia tirucalli*) and other species of milk-hedge or Indian spurge, and surai; the birds, the eagle, the kite, the pigeon; the drums, suraikotparai and niraikotparai, the pillage-drum and the drum beaten for arraying the band of robbers; the occupations, highway robbery and plunder; the yal called palai yal and the tune called palai; the flowers, mara (*Eugenia racemosa*), Kura (*Webera corymbosa*); padiri (the trumpet-flower, *Bigusnia chelonoides*), sources of water-supply, wells with scant water and springs and villages, those called parandalai (lit., field of battle or burial ground).

The above enumeration was made by ancient critics from a study of the usages of poets; it proves that ancient Tamil poetry was inspired by a keen observation of nature and its correlation with human life in all its aspects, more systematical and painstaking than that of the poets of all other countries and all other ages, and as accurate as that of modern scientists; hence from a critical study of ancient

Tamil poetry the conditions of life in the Tamil land in old times can be accurately inferred.

Fluidity of the above distribution of objects among tinais.

But natural regions are not water-tight compartments; they shade off imperceptibly into one another. Moreover, man, impatient of the restrictions which geographic control imposes on his activities, migrates from region to region, and drags flora and fauna with him. The ancient poets were aware of this; hence their attitude to nature was not marred by pedantic adherence to rules. Tolkappiyanar, therefore, has a few suttirams regarding the exceptions to the above described distribution of objects among the tinais. Such exceptions are called mayakkam; mayakkam literally means 'confusion'. On this subject says Tolkappiyanar: 'The confusion of tinais cannot be avoided; but those that are fully conversant with literary usage say that this is not the confusion of one region with another,' but the casual occurrence of what is normally appropriate to one region in another region. Such variation pertains not only to the specific objects of a tinai but also to the essential and primary objects. Flowers and birds if they occur in regions and times not specially

their own, are to be treated as belonging to that region where they actually occur.

Kaikkilai: love for an immature girl.

The tinais are really seven. Love is divided into two classes, *viz.*, (*a*) compatible love, *i.e.*, ardent love of the hero returned with equal ardour by the heroine—the incidents of which constitute the five tinais; (*b*) incompatible love, *i.e.*, one sided love, love not returned by the object of passion. This is called Kaikkilai and is described as follows:—'When a man falls in love with a very young girl not fit for love passages, gets but distress for it, describes his own affection for her and her cruelty to him in not returning his love and, as she does not reply to him, derives satisfaction but from his own speeches, it is called Kaikkilai'. Kaikkilai has been explained as one-sided love; it is a compound of Kai, (one side), and Kilai, love, *i.e.*, one-sided love. Another explanation is Kai, littleness, and Kilai, passion, love for a little girl immature and incapable of feeling the passion of love. Commentator Nachchinarkkiniyar says: 'It is called Kaikkilai because it is a class which cannot be included in the two kinds (Kalavu and Karpu).'

Violent Love: Perum Tinai.

The last of the seven classes of the manifestation of love is called Perumtinai, the great tinai. It is the forcible manifestation of love when it is not returned by the object of passion. Here the heroine is not an immature girl as in the case of the previous tinai, but she is as irresponsive to the hero's passion as the girl in Kaikkilai. The author defines Perundinai as follows :—The hero mounts the Madal, the heroine is not a young girl, she is capable of fierce passion and the hero embraces her by violence when he meets her ; these four are the characteristic of Perundinai. "Mounting the Madal' is the name of an ancient custom ; the hero who could not attain the object of his love made a wheeled vehicle of palmyra wood and horse of the sharp-edged stem of the palmyra leaf, and, mounting the horse, rode about the streets exposing himself to the sun and rain, without food or sleep, till the relatives of the woman he loved, moved by his furious passion, offered her to him ; if not he committed suicide.* From this custom, the word Madal has come to mean a class of

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* In the course of above narrated virulent action, in the body of the hero should not appear even a drop of blood : if at all anything appeared it should be nothing but pure semen.

poems dealing with this subject. In connection with this exhibition of violent passion, the sage says, 'To speak of the heroine as mounting a horse made of the palmyra stem is not appropriate; for it is an unlovely sight for a woman to give way to the passion of love as much as a man does. The opposites of these four apply to Kaikkilai, says the teacher'. In any case it is not proper that woman should mount the Maḍal; as it should not be attributed to women. The learned say that the servants of the higher classes and those that do them petty services are the heroes of Kaikkilai and Perundinai. These two unlovely forms of love, not being honourable, are excluded from the five tinais, of which the better class of people are the heroes.

The five tribes.

The consideration of the heroes appropriate to the seven kinds of love incidents according to literary tradition requires a discussion of the division of the ancient Tamils into five tribes. This is a natural division of the people due to geographical causes. Each tribe developed a culture of its own on account of its reaction to the environment in which it grew. Thus the hill-country produced hunters, the desert region, nomads, the sea-coast, fishers and boatmen,

the forest land, cowherds, shepherds and wool-weavers, and the river-valleys, the farmers and the cotton-weavers. This division is also historically interesting because each represents a stage in the evolution of human culture. So long as each tribe struck to its environment, it developed customs peculiar to itself and formed a natural caste. It is natural for the inhabitants of each region and especially those who followed the special occupations which confirmed them to special districts to develop the custom of endogamy. This custom of marrying within one's own tribe has been the ever-active cause of the people of India ceaselessly splitting up into castes and sub-castes. Hence the tribe-names of ancient times, like Kuravar, Maravar, Paradavar, Idaiyar, Vellalar, have now become caste-names and no more indicate the geographical region they inhabit nor the kind of life they follow. It may also be pointed that a word like Kovalar, which once was a tribe-name, came to mean Kings and later, persons belonging to the families of Kings, for the institution of Kingship rose soon after the wandering life of the hunters was succeeded by the settled life of the herdsmen. Hence, too, the word Aychchi, which originally meant a woman that tended cows is now used in the general

sense of 'lady', for the wives of the early cowherd and shepherd Kings were the first ladies of the land. The word and its derivative *aya* has also come to mean 'mother', for the wife of the patriarchal head of the pastoral family was the mother of the family, as he was its father.

The ancient Tamil classification of people into five classes was a natural one; not so the classification of the Aryas into four varnas. This four-fold division of the people was an artificial one, for it referred only to the functions of people with reference to the fire-rite. When the cult of Agni and the ceremonies that were elaborated in connection with it grew to a high order of complexity and the mantras to be recited at the celebration swelled immensely in bulk, a special class of expert priests were wanted and these became Brahmanas. The Kshatriyas, the rulers, who protected the Brahmanas and the *vis* (*Vaisya*), the bulk of the people, and those who followed avocations productive of wealth, were the chief patrons of the Yajnas; for all the greater Yajnas were performed for the benefits of Kshatriyas; hence their function was to stand the expenses and enjoy the benefits of the grander Yajnas. The Vaisyas paid for the

minor sacrifices open to the bulk of the people and enjoyed the fruit derived from them. The last class the so-called Sudras had the privilege of menial service in the sacrificial hall and nothing more. Hence the four-fold varna was **not** in origin a historical or geographical, *i.e.*, racial or tribal classification, but a purely artificial one.

This artificial classification of Indian men into four varnas was attempted to be imposed on the Tamil people when the Brahmanas attained a supreme position in the Tamil country some centuries before Tolkappiyanar's time. But the two classifications—the natural one into five tribes due to geographical causes and the artificial one into four varnas could not blend with each other and even to-day the four-fold varnas is a lego-religious fiction so far as Tamil India is concerned. There was no difficulty about the Brahmana Varna. Members of their varna were at first all emigrants from North India.

The Arya Varnas and the Tamil tribes.

The allocation of heroes to the different kinds of amatory poetry was, as we have said, based on the scientific classification of the people with reference to the kinds of life led by them as the result of their

reaction to their natural environment. This natural classification of human beings was recognised by the Tamil people from time immemorial both in the matter of social conventions and literary conventions. But Tolkappiyanar was a Brahmana and lived in the age when the Arya fire-sacrifices had begun to spead in the Tamil land and, as a consequence, the artificial division of men into four varnas with reference to their function in the vedic fire-rites had to be imposed on the ancient Tamil social polity. The two classifications, one into four varnas and the other into five tribes, could not blend with each other, though an attempt was made to fit one into the other. The fire priests (Purohitas) belonged to the Brahmana Varna. It is impossible to decide whether the Brahmanas of the Tamil country were all Arya imigrants from Northern India or some select men from the five Tamil tribes were affiliated to the Arya priesthood. The names Parppanar and Andanar were given to them. The word Parppanar perhaps meant 'seer', as the first Brahmanas to appear in South India were Rishis like Agastya or Parasurama and the sages who accompanied them. Or perhaps the word Parppanar was the Tamilized form of Brahmanar. The more common form of the word was Parppar. For

the other word, Andanar, various meanings have been suggested by Tamil scholars, *i.e.*, beautifully cool, merciful, those who have mastered the Vedantam, but not one of these explanations is convincing. Andanar means now (1) Gods (2) ascetic sages. Perhaps the name Andanar was given to the Brahmanas, because they claimed to possess godly qualities or perhaps because the first Brahmanas, as has been pointed out above, to reach the Tamil land were all ascetics (vanaprastas or sanyasis); whatever it was Brahmanas soon attained a prominent position in the Tamil social organization. The Tamil kings patronized the Vedic rites which were introduced into the Tamil country by the first Brahmanas and the Kings, hence, were treated as of the same social status as Kshatriyas and generally affiliated to the Bharadvaja Gotram, and the privilege of paying for the great Vedic rites and deriving the postmortem benefits resulting from their performance was extended to the Chola, Sera and Pandya kings. The Kshatriya status of the Tamil Rajas especially the more powerful of them was asserted and acknowledged throughout the ages, as is proved by inscriptions; but with the decline of the Tamil empires, this pseudo-Kshatriya caste disappeared from the Tamil land. The Vaisyas in the Arya

social organization were merchants and cultivators and formed the bulk of the people, the word vis meaning the people, but in Tamil India merchants (vanigar) were alone spoken of as Vaisyas; but yet there is no evidence that they enjoyed the socio-religious privileges of the third caste. For by the time Brahmana influence spread in Southern India, the vogue of the Vedic fire-rites had declined in Northern India (Aryavartta). Kings still celebrated sporadically the major rites of Asvamedha and Vajapeya; but the ordinary yajnas of which the Vaisyas were the performers (Yajamenas) had practically died out. Hence the Vaisya caste could exist only in the name in Southern India. According to the theory of the four varnas of Arya society, all those that did not belong to the three higher castes were Sudras fit only for menial service in the Vedic sacrifices. But the bulk of the people of the Tamil country did not take kindly to the Vedic fire-rites when the ghost of the gorgeous ceremonies of the age of the Rishis was introduced into South India in the years that preceded the beginning of the Christian era. **Hence the status of the Sudra could not properly be imposed on any portion of Tamil society.** Therefore the people of the Tamil land were in later times divided into Aryas (*i. e.*

Brahmanas, for the Arya caste alone found a permanent footing in South India) and Tamils (*i. e*., those who were not Brahmanas). The Brahmanas have regarded all the Tamils except themselves as Sudras, but the latter have always protested against this, for where the Arya fire-rite and the associated system of four varnas could not find a foothold, **there is no room for a Sudra caste.** The Sudras were the lowest rung of the ladder of Arya castes, and as the Tamils always regarded themselves as outside the Arya social polity, it is meaningless to impose the Sudra status on them.

Tolkappianar's attempt to correlate the two divisions of people.

This difficulty of fitting the Arya scheme of four varnas on the Tamils who were divided into five cultural tribes is clearly perceptible in Tolkappiyanar's discussion of the heroes of amatory poetry. Being himself a Brahmana (Arya), to him the division of men into four varnas is a matter of sacred tradition; but he could not reconcile it either to the facts of life in the Tamil country, or to the traditions of Tamil grammar which he inherited from the long line of scholars whom he refers to constantly; so his attempt to

reconcile the four varnas with the five tribes of the tinais is a hesitant, half-hearted affair. For according to Aryan ideas the men of the higher castes could alone be the heroes of poems; but in Tamil literature he found that people who could not be fitted into the three varnas such as petty chiefs, nobles and farmers, were heroes of existing poems. He felt bound to make a rule of grammar to meet such cases. So he says, 'Those who according to vedic tradition have the right to command and those who are similar to them and others have the right of being heroes of poetry. Tolkappiyanar finds justification for the inclusion of petty chiefs and nobles in the list of heroes in their being in a position to command people like the men of the three higher Aryan castes; he has, still, farmers on hand and adds the word 'others' so as to make provision for them. In such a manner does he reconcile Tamil customs with Aryan ideas.

The Varnas and Pallaittinai.

After this discussion Tolkappiyanar begins the consideration of the class of poems called Palai. Palai poems contain the mild tragic interest which alone the Tamil poets allowed themselves, *viz.*, the tragedy of the parting of lovers and of the parting of the

heroine from her mother and foster-sister. The occasions for the parting of the hero from the heroine afford another opportunity to introduce the question of the varnas. He says, 'Parting is caused by (the hero's having to go to distant places for the purpose of) study, war and embassy. Of these, study and embassy pertain to the higher varnas. The Tamil Scriptures and Law Books necessitated in very early times regular tuition in them and also consisted simple ballads of love and war. So the Aryan literature did comprise scriptures or Law books, but these required a dozen to three dozens years of instruction by a Preceptor, as was such necessitated by the daring speculations and subtle casuistries of the Aryan Schools unlike the Tamil institutions. Hence the parting of lovers to enable the hero to pursue a long scheme of education was sometimes unnecessary.

Not so the parting of a King from his mistress when he goes out for war. 'Going (against his enemy) by himself or accompanied by others pertains to a king. When a man who has gone against a rival King of the Mullai and other regions and has defeated him desires to organize the Government of the conquered country in accordance with his own

methods of administration and when others (*i.e.*, traders) wish to go to distant places to acquire wealth, parting between lovers take place.'

In the Suttiram Tolkappiyanar has imported into his grammar the common-law of the Aryas with reference to the duties of the three higher castes. But he is troubled by the fact that the petty uncrowned chiefs, not being Kshatriyas, had no place in his scheme of Andanar, Vendhar and Vanigar forming the "higher" castes and so calls them "others" in Suttiram 28. This is not the only difficulty in the way of his imposing the Arya scheme of Varnas on the five Tamil tribes. Besides the petty chiefs, there is the vast body of Velalas, those that own lands and get them cultivated by ploughmen and those that cultivate their own fields. **Tolkappiyanar is not prepared to call them Sudras.**

The next Suttiram, rather obscure, says, 'what is proper to men of the higher pertains also to the four.' Nachchinarkkiniyar explains this as follows:—acquisition of wealth by traders referred to in the previous Suttiram is fit work for Brahmanas, kings, and the two classes of Velalar (*i.e.*, those that own lands and get them tilled by others and those that

cultivate their own fields). Probably this Suttiram is intended to clinch the point introduced in Por. i. 24 and lay down expressly that the poetic functions of the three 'higher' varnas of the Arya scheme also pertain to the four classes not belonging to that scheme, namely, petty chiefs who are not entitled to wear a crown, the noblemen attached to royal courts, land-owners and tillers of the soil. Tolkappiyanar thus gets out of the difficulty of fitting the new scheme of four varnas to the old Tamil classification of people into five tribes. This explanation is rendered probable by the fact that the next Suttiram gives the reason for thus extending these literary rights to these four classes of Velalar. It says: 'The followers of kings (*i. e.* these four classes of Velalar) have the same literary functions as kings. This subject is further driven home in detail in the next three Suttirams, though the commentators are wide of the mark in their interpretations.' Suttiram i. 31 says, 'parting of lovers, for purposes of study belongs to the higher varnas'. Nachchinarkkiniyar makes 'the higher' mean 'brahmanas, traders, and the higher velalar' and adds that as the word '*ottu*' refers only to Vedas, the phrase '*ottin ana*' refers to the Sanskrit literature subsidiary to the Veda and Tamil

books, like Agattiyam. All this is but Nachchinarkkiniyar's attempt to read later ideas into the Suttiram. Such distinctions cannot apply to ancient Tamil life to which pertain the old Tamil ballads. Suttiram i. 32 says 'the functions of Kings belong also to other than Kings'. This Suttiram provides for the heroship of men of all the five tribes, which is a fact of Tamil literature, in spite of Aryan rules. But Nachchinarkkiniyar explains 'others' to mean 'petty chiefs', though there is nothing in the context to indicate this. Suttiram i. 33 says 'going away for the sake of acquiring wealth belongs to them (*i. e.* the others) also; hence the convention of singing palai poetry belongs to them as to the higher varnas when they travel for earning wealth'. Thus is Tolkappiyanar driven to frame rules in his attempt to treat the Aryan classification of men into four varnas as applicable to ancient Tamil India and to square the facts of ancient Tamil life and ancient Tamil poetry to Aryan scheme **so foreign to the genius of the Tamil people of the Pre-Aryan epoch**. Tolkappiyanar closes this discussion with the rule " it is not customary for women to travel with their husbands or lovers when they go to distant places for these three purposes (*i. e.*, study, war and embassy)."

Topics of Palai poetry: Mother's lament.

So far Tolkappiyanar has used the subject of Palai for discussing the question of Varnas and tribes. When the discussion is over he allows himself to go on with the main subject of Palai. Palai, the long separation of lovers is common to the two forms of love—unmarried and married, Kalavu and Karpu, whereas of the other tinais, Kurinji or love-union is peculiar to Kalavu. Marudam, the quarrels of husband and wife, generally due to the attachments of the former to hetaira is peculiar to Karpu; so too Neydal and Mullai. As Palai belongs to both kinds of love it is treated in this Chapter by Tolkappiyanar. Of the two forms of Palai—separation of the lovers and separation of the heroine from her mother, the author begins with the latter. That separation takes place when the heroine elopes with her lover. That an elopement was necessary proves that the people had long passed the stage when a 'natural union' was *ipso facto* marriage. The norm was that the parents should select a husband for their daughter; but the heart of youth always broke social fetters and the birth of love was immediately followed by its consummation. Young love then began to fret against the restrictions of home and sought

released from them in elopement. Such restrictions argue a form of civilization much advanced from the state when the law of marriage was identical with nature's law. This is proved by the topics which according to Tolkappiyanar constituted the subject matter of the mother's laments after her daughter has run away. Says he :—the mother when the daughter has gone away may fitly speak about the following topics :

When the heroine has eloped with her lover, as one of the developments of Kalavu, her mother will feel grief and other emotions and these furnish topics for poems. Thus she may speak of the causes of good and evil with regard to herself, the hero and the heroine, of what her daughter was, what she is, and what she may become in the future, of terrors in store for the heroine (such as those from the beasts and birds in her way and those that result from her father's anger), of the difficulties of the places she may go to, of the bad omens (by lizards, etc.), the utterances inspired by the Gods, etc., in regard to her ; she may grieve for the inconsolable sorrow of the heroine's playmate ; or when people, who have gone in search of her, report their inability to trace her whereabouts ; all these, says the

teacher, belong to Palai. Or the mother may go about searching for the girl in towns or hamlets or along narrow and difficult paths or outside her house.

The heroine's foster-sister.

Another person whose speeches are the proper subjects of poetic treatment in the palaittinai is the foster-sister and playmate of the heroine, who is the intermediary between the lovers. She speaks to the lover about the grief of the heroine when he has not taken her along with him; she speaks when she conducts the heroine to her lover so that she might elope; when she parts from them both; she speaks about the sorrow of the mother and the foster-mother after the lovers have run away; when the mother has gone in search of the runaways for searching them the path of duty as laid down by the sages who could distinguish truth from falsehood, and returned after a fruitless search; she speaks words of consolation to the mother; when the mother keeps lamenting her daughter's absence she attempts to relieve her distress by pointing out that love from a previous incarnation prompted the girl to go away: these are the legitimate occasions for poems spoken by the foster-sister.

Wayfarers.

The speeches of people who meet the errant lovers on the road are also fit topics for poetic treatment. Such people may describe the difficulties of travel in the evening on strange paths and warn them of the dangers that may overtake them; out of kindness for the lovers they may point out that their own place is near and the place they intend to go to is far; out of affection for the lovers they may try to persuade them to return because their destination is impossible to reach; when the wayfarers see the foster-mother or mother searching for the runaways they may try to direct her to where the lovers are gone and to stop her when the lovers are gone away to distant places: these, says the sage, are occasions for those that have met the lovers on the road to speak.

Occasions for the hero's speeches.

When the foster-mother objects to the elopement; when, on account of the heroine being kept strictly guarded at home, the lover cannot run away with her or even meet her; when the roughness of the road stands in the way of their going away; when with the help of the foster-sister he arranges for elopement; when he gives up the

elopement; when, on the parents catching the run-aways on the road and trying to take the heroine back, she is distressed and turns to her lover and aways from her parents and the constancy of her love has become known to all; when he decides to go away in quest of wealth, though the thought that the time for earning wealth is brief is opposed by the thought that youth, the time for enjoyment, is also fleeting, though the effort to acquire wealth by all available means is opposed by the thought that wealth ought to be got only by means befitting the status of the man, though the thought of the meanness of poverty is opposed by that of the endlessness of the desire for riches and though the desire for wealth prompted by love is opposed by the pain of separation; when he desires to study the books that deal with True Being and the conduct that leads to it; when he impresses on the heroine and her foster-sister the necessity of earning reputation and respect; when he has to go on royal embassies; when he has to go to help friends in distress with respect to the three (duty, wealth and pleasure); when he goes to see distant countries; when other Kings boast of their superiority and war results; when he is living in camps and lamenting his separation from her; when after victory he speaks to his charioteer;

when he goes to protect distant places and the men living there; when, after he deserts the heroine for a harlot and the heroine resents it, he goes back to her and begs her forgiveness: these topics pertain to the lover. Others are not prevented from speaking in Palaittinai. Memories of further love-passages also belong to it. Repeating these is also Palai.

Other rules regarding Agattinai.

The objects (essential and primary) of other tinais may also occur in Palai, Kaikkilai and Perundinai, if they do not contradict the actual conventions of society. Nachchinarkkiniyar notes, that the foster-sister's announcement to the weeping heroine that the hero is returned, that the hero's narrating to the foster-sister his experiences during his journey, etc., belong to the Palaittinai. Implicit metaphor, like other comparisons is fit to express Agattinai. The phrase 'implicit metaphor' means that in which the same object serves as the thing compared and the object of comparison. By implicit metaphor, all essential objects, except gods, may be expressed, so say those that know the characteristics of poetry (*i.e.*, expert critics). With the intention of helping the reader to reach the thought that is expressed by means of the implicit metaphor, the poet inserts a few words. Other comparisons are

explicit. The subjects of traditional literary conventions and similes properly belong to the special chapters devoted to them, but the author deals here with the above special points by anticipation. The authors of Sutra literature allow themselves a great latitude in the matter of digression, because the teaching was always oral and an oral exposition lends itself to digressions from the rigorous premeditated plan of a book.

Panini may be called a sinner in this respect and his famous Sutras of Sanskrit grammar have had to be dissected piece-meal and rearranged by commentators before a logical scheme of grammatical teaching could be evolved out of them. Tolkappiyanar also indulges a little in this latitude of Sutra-makers. Thus the next Suttiram anticipates a later discussion. In accordance with the conventions of the drama and of social life, the learned hold that the two, called Kali and Paripadal are fit to be used. Two more rules are propounded in the next Suttiram. In the five tinais for which human beings are heroes, it is not proper to mention the names of actual persons. The proper name of a person is not used in Agattinai, unless Purattinai is mixed with it.

CHAPTER II.

PURATTINAIIYAL

(Grammar of War-Poetry).

Puram.

As Aham deals primarily with love, so Puram deals with war. The main incidents of love are five and two others were added so that the total tinais of Aham are seven; so the main incidents of war are five and two more were added to make the tinais of Puram seven. And the seven Purattinais correspond to the seven Ahattinais. The main incidents of love were given names which are also the names of the regions where they occur and of the flowers appropriate to them; so the incidents of war were given names, which are also the names of flowers associated with those incidents. The ancient Tamils were great lovers of Nature. This love expressed itself in various ways; and one of these ways was to decorate their heads and necks with garlands of flowers on every conceivable occasion. Different kinds of flowers symbolized different life-incidents, in which the flowers associated with each were worn. Kings had their own flowers as their badges. Thus the Chola

kings had throughout the ages, the Atti (*bauhinea racemosa*), as their emblem; their soldiers in field of battle wore Atti garlands as their distinctive uniform. What the Atti was to the Chola, that the margosa was to the Pandya and the palmyra to the Chera.

The first five tinais of Puram.

The first five tinais of Puram are called Vetchi (*Ixora coccinea*), Vanji, a creeper, Ulinai (*Cerna lanater*), Tumbai, a creeper, and Vahai the flame of the forest. These respectively correspond to Kurinji, Mullai, Marudam, Neydal and Palai. The appropriate objects, place, time, etc., of these tinais of Puram and Aham also correspond. Vetchi deals with the lifting of the enemy's cattle, which was the old method of declaration of war. Hence it is suited to the hilly tracts where cattle are herded, and to night-time and correspond to the secret union of lovers. Vanji is the expedition into the enemy's territory and the fights consequent thereon. The objects appropriate to it are the wooded regions, the rainy season, and it corresponds to the hero and heroine waiting parted from each other. Ulinai is the seige of the enemy's forts which were situated in the Marudam region; as for Marudam no special season is set apart for

Vetchi, and the dawn is the hour suited to it; it corresponds to the quarrels of lovers. Tumbai is battle on the open plain; the sandy stretches of Neydal land are appropriate to it; there is no season set apart for it; the afternoon is the part of the day when battles end; as the heroine laments for the absence of the lover, so the wives weep for the husbands killed in battle; hence Tumbai corresponds to Neydal. Vahai corresponds to Palai, because it is associated with the parting of soldiers from their friends when going to the wars and when, after success in wars, they resolve to give up the world and take to the life of the ascetic. As Palai might occur in all regions, so too, Vahai. It will be noticed the five flowers which give the names of the five Purattinais are each peculiar to the regions belonging to them (five tinais of Aham) as enumerated in the last chapter.

Two more tinais of Puram.

As Aham possessed two supplementary tinais, namely, Kaikkilai and Perundinai, so Puram has two additional tinais, called Kanji and Padan. The transitoriness of the world is an evil like the uncontrollable passion of a man; hence Kanji corresponds to Perundinai. Kaikkilai is one sided love; so

Padan is the one-sided love of the hero for fame; so too does the poet who sings about him, does feel love of reward, which the hero does not feel.

Other grammarians, like Aiyan Aridanar* give slightly different definitions of the seven tinais of Puram but they need not be noticed here. The fact is mentioned merely to show that **the science of poetic criticism was not, in ancient days, a cut and dried one, but a living science, susceptible of variations of opinion.** We will now give an account of the tinais of Puram following Tolkappiyar's treatment of the same.

The first Suttiram of Purattinaiiyal says:—Those who have understood Ahattinai thoroughly and have investigated Purattinai will find that Vetchi corresponds to Kurinji. It contains fourteen terrible turais (themes). Thurai is literally a ford or a ferry. Hence it

* Aiyan Aridanar is the author of Purapporul Venbamalai, based on Pannirupadalam composed by all the disciples of Ahattiyar. The first Suttiram of Purattinaiiyal hints at the existence of rival grammarians who treated about Puram without understanding its affinities with Aham. Perhaps Tolkappiyar here refers to his rivals, who dissented from his views and founded the school to which Aiyan Aridanar belonged.

aptly refers to a sub-division of the topic of a poem. Nachchinarkkiniyar explains that as to a ford men and beasts resort for drinking water so many things are included in one turai. The commentator explains the word 'terrible' to refer to the fright which Brahmanas and other non-combatants feel when war breaks out and they take refuge within the fort. The general characteristics of Vetchi are described in the following Suttirams. Vetchittinai deals with the leader of the outposts going by the orders of a king to the enemy's territory, stealing herds of cattle thence and confining them in their own pens. The element of theft is common to Vetchi and Kurinji for in the former a neighbouring King's cattle are stolen, and in the latter a neighbour's daughter is abducted. Though an act of war, this lifting of cattle is explained as an act of charity, for when war is begun, non-combatants might flee for protection to fortified places, whereas cattle cannot thus take refuge; so the king who takes the offensive begins by removing the enemy's cattle to place of safety in his own dominions. Malicious cattle-raids by people other than kings are excluded from Vetchi because they are not inspired by the noble considerations explained above.

Vetchi also includes the redemption of the cattle which have thus been stolen. This redemption is called Karandhai, for those that thus bring back lifted cattle were garlanded with the flowers of Karandhai (sweet basil). The early Brahmana writers of Tamil grammar attempted to identify the Aham and Puram of the Tamils with the Dharma, Arttha, Kama and Moksha, the four objects of life according to Arya classification. So they make Aham correspond to Kama and Puram to the rest. Hence Nachchinarkkiniyar takes the trouble to point out that Vetchi is the acquisition of wealth (here cattle) in accordance with Dharma (here rules of righteous warfare). In early days the Tamils did not use the Sanskrit names of the four objects of life, but used Tamil words to indicate them, *viz.*, Aram, Porul, Inbam, Veedu.

Vetchi.

The next Suttiram enumerates the fourteen themes into which the Vetchittinai, the incident of capturing the enemy's cattle, is subdivided, They are the noise of the assembling of the army listening to the cries of birds indicating success, (technically called virichchi), reaching the enemy's plantation without being observed by his spies or watch-

men, getting reports from one's own spies without the knowledge of the enemy's spies, surrounding the enemy's plantation after getting information from one's spies, killing the guardians of the cattle, capturing the cattle, repulsing those who try to rescue the cattle, taking away the cattle without injury to them, returning home to receive congratulations, securing the cattle near their village, sharing the cattle among themselves, drinking and dancing to celebrate their victory and presenting some of the cattle to poor beggars: these are the fourteen subdivisions of Vetchi. Nachchinarkkiniyar subdivides each of these themes into two, one referring each of these deeds to the party which takes the offensive and the other, to the corresponding deeds of the rescuers, the party on the defensive and gives illustrations of the twenty-eight subdivisions from ancient Tamil literature. The ancient poets exercised their inventive talents to find as many little themes as possible in every tinai. The description of the exultant attitude of the victorious warriors and of the worship of Kotravai is also a part of this tinai. The 'exultant attitude' means the warriors celebrating their victory by wearing pearl-garlands, marks on the forehead,

daubing the body with sandal-paste, and marching in triumph around the town. Kotravai was the ancient Tamil Goddess of war and victory; her name is derived from Kotram, victory, probably ultimately from Kol, to Kill. Her worship consisted in sacrificing live animals and in offering cups of blood. After the blending of the Arya God with the Tamil Gods, she became identified with Durga or Kali. Nachchinarkkiniyar notes that these two themes are common to Vetchi and Vanji.

More themes of Vetchi.

The next Suttiram enumerates twenty-one further themes. Ilamburanar, the earlier commentator, says that these themes are the subdivisions of Karandaittinai, the obverse of Vetchi, dealing with the rescue of the cattle lifted as the first step of a war of offence. But as Nachchinarkkiniyar has, as already mentioned, treated Karandai as included in Vetchi, he regards these twenty-one themes as a supplement to those of Ahattinai and Purattinai. His interpretation is probably right; anyhow this Suttiram contains a list of exceedingly interesting themes derived from the practice of ancient poets. These additional poems form three groups. The first four

themes are dances, each named after a flower. The first is Kandal (*gloriosa superba*), the flower worn by the Velan, the priest who is expert in worship of Muruhan and holds the spear, Vel during dancing and speaks cruel words. Women, too, at times obsessed by the spirit of Muruhan dance this dance; it therefore symbolizes the hysteric dance of women maddened by uncontrollable love and the dance of men in quest of victory, both subjects pertaining to Kurinji. The next three topics are the dances of men who wear the flowers of the Palmyra, the Margosa, and the Atti (worn by the soldiers of the three kings, *i.e.*, Chera, Pandya and Chola) who possess great war-animals, the chaplets being their distinguishing marks on the battle-field. The other topics are the Valli which never fades (the Valli dances pertain to low classes); the Kalanilai, in which are sung songs in praise of warriors who wear the anklet (Kalal), presented in honour of their not running away from the battle-field; the Unnanilai, observing the unnam tree to read the future fortunes of the king (the leaves of the tree stand upright to indicate success and bend down to portend defeat); and the Puvainilai, that of the Kaya flower (*Memeceylon tinctorium*), the

flower whose fame is undying because it possesses the purple colour of Mayon (in this turai kings are praised, because as Vishnu protects the whole of the world, they protect their subjects). The next seven topics are dispensing a crowd of fighting men; rescuing stolen cattle; attributing the might and greatness of kings to others than kings; vowing to do terrible deeds by means of one's might; the two forms of Pillainilai, *i.e.*, resisting the attack of the vanguard of the enemy and, while sabring the enemies, the hero himself dying on the battle-field; and Pillaiyattu, *i.e.*, welcoming a young prince, who has won a fight with the might of his arms, by the beating of drums and the offering to him of a district; for each of these seven acts heoes are crowned with garlands of Karandai (sweet basil). The next six are connected with memorial stones for the dead heroes; they are selecting a stone, taking it, washing it, planting it, making offerings to it and hymning it. These memorial stones became the centre of temples.

Vanji.

After the preliminary cattle-lifting the hero starts on his expedition into the enemy's country. This is Vanji which corresponds to Mullai among

the Ahattinais. As in Mullai the lovers wait separated from each other, so in Vanji the hero is in his camp and the heroine in her house, separated from each other. Vanji deals with one king proceeding against another so as to strike into his people and dealing death, on account of unlimited earth-hunger. One king wants to capture the band in dispute and the other wants to keep it to himself; hence the charge of unlimited hunger applies to both the kings. Kanji is the actual clash of arms and 'Ulinai' is besieging the enemy's fort, but Vanji is the invasion of the enemy's country. Nachchinarkkiniyar points out that the eleven turais of Vanjittinai to be presently described applies to both kings, the besieger and the defender. The themes that come under Vanji are as follows:—

The noise of the marching of the two armies, burning fires on the field of battle, the brilliance of allied armies, the distribution of arms and rewards, the killing of detachments that meet each other, self-gratulations and congratulations for titles conferred, bold marching in defiance of the enemy's defensive, the grandeur of staying the invasion as a stone dam stays the oncoming flood, the distribution of food during the feasting of the

soldiers, the eminence of the victors, the decline of the vanquished, vallai, the song sung to comfort the defeated king, and generously embracing and otherwise helping the defeated heroes: these are the thirteen excellent themes of Vanji.

Ulinai.

Ulinai corresponds to Marudam says the sage. It includes the siege and capture or defence of a full fort, which is the chief stronghold of a king. Nachchinarkkiniyar explains a 'full fort' to mean one in the interior of a country and not merely a hill or a forest or a sheet of water relied upon as a defence. It contains many ingenious forms of defence: is surrounded by a defensive plantation full of thorns and by a moat, is filled with engines made by Yavanas (Romans), and is provided with a fortified entrance tower. This tinai of Ulinai is of twice four classes, *i.e.*, four belonging to the besieger and four to the defender. They are:—indicating coming victory over the enemy even before taking his country by way of distribution of presents, the proclamation of the greatness of the invading king as being one that never gives up an enterprise (this is done by his favourite generals in his presence and

by his ambassadors in the presence of the enemy king), declaration by the invader that he would destroy the ancient fortress in one day and gathering of many shields of leather to ward off the enemy's volley of arrows. These four belong to the king who starts on the offensive. The wealth of the king whose fortress is besieged, (*i.e.*, his councillors, army, subjects, provisions, ministers, friends, moats and other defences), the difficulties to which the invader is put by the defender's prowess, the defender being compelled to issue out of his fortress to give battle to the invader, the defender sitting within the battlements in contemptuous defiance of the siege, these together with the former four are the eight classes of Ulinai. The turais, *i.e.*, topics for poetry which the Ulinai operations furnish are twelve and they are explained in the next Suttiram.

Suttiram II. 13 describes the twelve tinais into which the Ulinaittinai has been divided. They are as follows :—Spreading the royal umbrella and grasping the implements of war when the favourable planet is in the ascendant (this action is the beginning of the attack or defence of the fort), scaling the walls and fighting on the ladder made of planks of wood,

surrounding the second wall of the fort after the first one has been taken, defence of the second fort wall (this is called nochchi, *viter negundu*, the flowers of which are worn during this action), capture of it by the invader, the fight in the moat covered by moss, the ferocious fight within the city walls and near the royal palace, capturing and wearing the crown of the defeated king and celebration of the victory by planting the captured sword of the enemy in the ground and washing it, and gathering the soldiers on the field of victory. It may be noted that the reference to the unfurling of the royal umbrella and the grasping of arms when the planets are occupying an auspicious position indicates that astrological beliefs and practices had spread in the land before the Tolkappiyam was composed. This point will be discussed in a separate chapter. It may also be mentioned here that in commenting on II. 10, Nachchinarkkiniyar mentions among the means of attacking and defending forts, engines invented by Yavanas (Romans). This indicates that the Romans who were settled in large numbers in the Tamil country instructed Tamil kings in the Roman methods of capturing forts.

Tumbai corresponds to neydal. It deals with the defeat of a king who has taken the field for establishing his might. The greatness of Tumbai consists in the bodies of the warriors standing on the battle-field even after their life has been quenched by the joint volleys of arrow and Javelin, and not dropping on the ground even after having been cut asunder by sword.

Tumbai.

Tumbai has twelve turais. They are as follows :— the arrays of infantry, elephant brigade and cavalry which strike terror into the heart of the enemy going to the succour of a king who is fighting in the van of the army with his spear and is surrounded by the enemy, two generals dying when fighting, a general standing like a bull and rallying his soldiers when they are about to be defeated, hand to hand fight without arms, fighting with a warrior on an elephant, dancing of the soldiers of a king who has killed an opposing king and his elephant, both kings and their followers fighting with arms and falling dead on the battle-field, a general fighting so as to earn fame on seeing with fury that his king has been killed in the fight, and his being cut off the other kings stencing sword after his army has been defeated.

Vakai.

Vakai corresponds to palai. It deals with the subject of various classes of men exhibiting their respective natural characteristics. In Ahattinaiyiyal Tolkappiyar utilizes the subject of palai for the imposition of the Arya social organization into four Varnas on the natural division of the Tamil people according to the regions they inhabited. So he has defined Vahai so as to afford an opportunity to introduce the distribution of rights and duties according to the Arya Dharma Sastras. Vahai is a flower, (*mimosa fleitmosa*) that is worn as a symbol of success; it is thus a sub-division of Puram, but Tolkappiyar before describing the themes that are its sub-divisions inserts here an account of the duties and rights of the four Varnas supposed to be based on natural qualities and other classes of people in the next suttiram. It says, Vahai deals with seventeen subjects: *viz*., the sixfold duties of Brahmanas *i.e.*, studying, teaching, marriage, exercising the priestly function during marriages, giving and receiving gifts; the fivefold duties of kings: *i. e*., studying, marriage, giving gifts, protection of subjects and war; the sixfold duties of others: *i.e.*, studying, marriage, giving gifts, agriculture, herding cattle, and trade; for

Vanigar (Vaisyas), giving gifts, agriculture, herding cattle, trade and service.

The Velalas. It will be noticed that the third and fourth Varna of the Arya social scheme are assigned almost the same functions. As a matter of fact and even of theory, the four Arya castes could not fit into the actual state of affairs in Southern India. Of the four Aryan Varnas, only one that of the Brahamana, migrated into the Tamil land. The three great royal families the Chera the Chola and the Pandya—like the Pallavas of Kanchipuram before they settled in the South, were invested with the status of Kshatriya for they alone could pay for the Greater Sranta rites, and affiliated to the Bharadvaja Gotra, reserved for such affiliations. There were properly no Vaisyas, and the Velalas were too high in social status to be drafted into the Sudra Varna; so they were assigned the functions of the Vaisyas (it is to be noted that Tolkappiyar never uses the term Sudra) and service, the proper function of Sudras in the Arya scheme, was added, we may suppose, in view of the poorer members of the community and rounding off the adaptation of the Arya social scheme to South Indian conditions. This adoptation was still fluid in Tolkappiyar's

days. Vahai deals with four more subjects besides the three above mentioned. They are the functions of the sages who are without defects and who know the past, the present and the future; of the ascetics of the eight paths; the glories of victors in battle and of the people who obtain other kinds of victories.

The sages above referred to are probably Rishis and Brahmana sanyasis. Agastyar is mentioned by Nachchinarkkiniyar as an example of these sages. It is difficult to find out who are the ascetics of the eight paths—Buddhas, Jainas, Ajivakas and other unvedic orders of sanyasis are probably referred to. The last two of the seven categories of this suttiram are proper subjects of Vahai. They are the poetic celebrations of the victors in battle and other victors. The other victors have been explained by Ilamburanar to be evictors in verbal contests, poetical contests, dramatical contests, dicing contests, wrestling contests, etc., victors who were in ancient days crowned with Vahai flowers and praised in songs. That the other subjects, that is, the legitimate activities of the castes according to the definition of their duties by the authors of the Arya Dharma Sastras were not sung by early Tamil bards is proved by the fact that illustration of songs about them

are all taken from later Tamil poetry by both Ilampuranar and Nachchinarkkiniyar.

The turais of Vahai are eighteen : conquering the desire to enjoy the pleasures available in the cold season and in the hot season for taking part in battles ; warriors on mounted chariots celebrating by songs and sacrifices their victory in the field of battle like ploughmen celebrating in their fields a harvest by songs and sacrifices ; Kuravai, or dancing with hands interlocked by the victor and his generals on the platform of a chariot after victory like women of the ploughmen's caste ; Kuravai danced behind the chariot by the followers of the victor, singing the praises of the spear used in great fights, of the valour shown in war, of the readiness of the soldiers to sacrifice their lives in battle ; immolation of one's sect in fire when one has failed to perform what one has vowed to do, thus causing shame to the enemy and earning the esteem of great men ; befriending the enemy by giving up to him whatever (life, body, or armour) he begs for—these nine are kinds of brave deeds in war (Maram) ; the next nine deals with nine classes of virtues, (aram) ; they are living a blameless life, tending one's cattle, renunciation of the throne by the King, presiding over a council of men who

possess the eight qualities (god birth, learning, good conduct, truth, holiness, impartiality, freedom from envy, freedom from selfish desires), acting up to the ordinances of the canon law charity which brings on endless fame, forgiveness of faults, wealth (of soldiers, subjects, ministers, friends, and sons), mercy to all beings which leads to asceticism, and subduing of all forms of lust.

Kanji.

Kanji corresponds to Perum tinai. It describes the evanescence of the life of the world in various ways to induce men to appreciate the supreme greatness of renunciation. As perumtinai is violent love, Kanji is violent manifestation of grief and denunciation of the transcience of love and life. Kanji is a kind of tree (*ulmus intergrifolia*) whose flower is a symbol of the transcience of earthly life and earthly objects. Kanji is of two kinds one pertaining to men and the other to women. Each of these is subdivided into ten kinds. Perum Kanji, the great Kanji, is the proclamation of the inevitability of death; Mudukanji, the Kanji of elders, is old men teaching young men that youth will pass away soon; Marakkanji, the Kanji of fortitude, is a wounded man's consideration that it is natural to die and dying by tearing open his wounds;

Peykkanji, the Kanji of demons, is the keeping watch (during nights) by demons of a wounded man who has no relatives to look after him; Mannaikkanji, the Kanji of others is the lamentation of other people accompanied by the description of the qualities of the dead man; Vanjinakkanji, the vow-kanji, in which a man takes a vow that if he did not succeed in an enterprize, he should give up his life or undergo such penalty; Todakkanji, the Kanji of refusal to touch, when the sweetly smiling wife of a wounded man will not let a demon guard him during the night, nor touch him herself (this is intended to teach the instability of affection and futility of relying on it); Anjikkanji, the Kanji of fear, the wife feeling fear seeing the spear, wounded on the corpse of the husband (though she embraced the husband when he was alive, she turns away from him in disgust now that he is dead, another lesson on the instability of life); Mahatpalkanji, refusal of heads of old families to give their girls in marriage to kings who come to fight for their lands, for fear that the lives of the kings are short; and lastly a wife pressing the dead husband's head to her head and breasts and thus giving up her life. The ten kinds of Kanji, of women are the confused noise of the lamentations of relatives over a man who is

dead after acquiring much fame, the unbearable distress of the wife alone, the description of the feelings of those that witness the death of the wife immediately after the death of the husband called mudanandam, (supreme bliss), a lonely woman's lamentation for a husband who dies on a narrow and difficult path (called mudupalai, the great separation), Kaiyarunilai, the lamentations of relations and others describing the love of a husband and wife who are both dead, Tabudaranilai, a husband weeping for a dead wife, Tabadanilai, a wife weeping for a dead husband, the lamentation of a wife who is prevented by friends from performing Suttee (called palai, here meaning the land where cremation is done), Talaipparanilai, a mother dying on learning that her son died like a hero and Kaduvalttu, hyming the cemetery which remains though many men die and pass away, as a symbol of the evanescence of life. These twenty kinds of Kanji are regarded as the two themes of Kanjittinai. The possible themes of lamentation are not exhausted in this enumeration; this is positive proof that the grammar did not classify the themes *a priori*, but enumerated them with regard to actual specimen of poetry.

Padan.

Padan is the singing of praises by poets for reward. The part of Puram called Padan corresponds to Kaikkilai; it is of eight kinds. As Kaikkilai is onesided love, so Padan is one sided praise. What the eight kinds are has caused a difficulty to the commentators. They give *a priori* enumerations of the eight kinds, which cannot be derived from the text of Tolkappiyam. In fact Ilamburanar and Nachchinarkkiniyar differ very widely from each other in their explanations of the suttirams regarding Padan tinai; the difference is so great that we may infer that the traditional interpretations having been lost owing to the lapse of time and loss of the manuscripts of previous commentaries on these suttirams, the later commentators were thrown on the resources of their own ingenuity and have imported their own ideas into their comments. Tolkappiyar has never given the number of divisions of subject without enumerating them. Therefore these eight divisions of Padan have to be discovered in the next two suttirams. The 26th suttiram of Purattinaiiyal says, the six kinds of poems dealing with the gods and with their loves, apply also to men.

The remaining two kinds refer to the description in accordance with the tradition laid

down by old writers of the greatness of heroes. When this description is in the third person it is called puhal and in the second person, paraval. The poems of love are not restricted to gods ; they may refer also to others, *i.e*., men and children and to the love of harlots, etc. In these poems the proper names of the heroes may be mentioned in accordance with social conventions. That the two commentators differ widely in their explanations of the Suttirams regarding Padantinai may be illustrated by the fact that Nachchinarkkiniyar explains the six classes mentioned in the first line of II. 26 as referring to the Gods, ascetics, Brahmanas, herds of cows, rain, and Kings, whereas Ilamburanar makes them refer to Kodinilai, Kandali, Valli, directing poets to patrons, praises in the second person and praises in the third person. By these six kinds, Tolkappiyar probably means the loves of Gods, the four kinds of hymns referred to in Suttiram II. 33, and the one referred to in Suttiram II. 34. Suttiram II. 33 says, the three, *viz*., Kodinilai, Kandali and Valli, along with Kadavul Valttu, (praise of god) are faultless and superior forms of poetry. So also Kotravallai. Kodinilai, Kandali, Valli and Kotravallai are technical terms which name different kinds of poetry

describing different heroic deeds of Gods; but the traditional meanings of these words have been forgotten. The commentators give most inapt explanations of them. Speculations about the meanings of these words are discussed separately. The various sub-themes of Padantinai are as follows: Praising those that give gifts and underratting those that do not give gifts, visiting a person, praising the good characteristics of his family and begging gifts of him; Kadainilai, address to the gate keeper requesting him to help to get relief for one who has come from a remote place; Kanpadainilai, stories recited by physicians and ministers in an assembly of kings and nobles to soothe the mind and to induce sleep; presenting a red cow etc., in times of affliction; raising a lighted lamp to proclaim the victory of one's dance; telling an unpleasant truth, moral or spiritual advice; invoking the blessing of the Gods on a family; and Kaikkilai, praising a person (not the object of love); these four along with the previous six form themes of Padan.

The next suttiram describes further turais of Padañ. They are, Tuiledai, dicers singing a king's praises for rousing him from sleep when he is sleeping in his tent, the songs of poor people who have met on their way dancers,

minstrels, warriors and songsters and heard what rewards they have received, and go to the patron to ask similar gifts; Perumangalam, the graceful boons of a king on his birthday when he cancels punishments given previously (also called Vellani, because the kings wear a white cloth on the occasion); Mannumangalam, bathing ceremony, anniversary of anointment of kings which makes them famous; praising the shade of his umbrella, *i.e.*, his protection of his subjects and maintenance of law; Valmangalam, praising the might of his arms which have prevailed over his enemies; Mannumangalam, bathing ceremony after destroying the forts of enemies; begging for gifts at the door of a king; two kinds of taking leave (either begging for a leave to depart or the king of his own accord giving leave to go) after receiving rewards; fear that misfortune would overtake a patron as portended by inauspicious times, birds, cries, etc.; love towards the patron and guarding him against evil during all times; these are turais of Padan based on the conduct of the people of the world in the past, the present and the future. Hence Padantinai comprises songs praising kings and Gods on various occasions in expectation of reward. The Suttirams dealing with Padantinai the last

of the division of Puram are obscure possibly because the author has included in it several poems not dealing with war, which is the proper subject of Puram. The poems were there and the author had to find a place in Puram, because they did not deal with Aham, hence, perhaps, the great differences in the explanation of these suttirams by the commentators.

Extraordinarily varied must have been the poetic achievements of the Tamils, more than three millenniums ago, to have produced so numerous divisions and sub-divisions of the seven tinais of the class of poetry called Puram. Numerous poets were either permanently attached to the three royal courts or were constantly wandering from court to court in search of patronage. They vied with one another in utilizing the occasions for the singing of the achievements, valarous or otherwise, of kings and nobles ; so much that the critic Tolkappiyar, summing up the teachings of his predecessors, whom he constantly refers to as Pulavar and the learned, can find that every petty incident of warfare has been made the subject of poetic treatment. As if the numerous incidents of war were not enough, the last of the Purattinais, Padan, has been pressed into service for including songs in praise of kings in other than

occasions of war. Hence though Puram is mainly war-poetry it includes many poems not dealing with martial achievements.

Another thing that has to be prominently noted is the cult of flowers that prevailed in ancient Tamil India. Garlands of flowers were worn on the occasion of the performance of every little detail of action and of the celebration of success in every little incidents of war or love. Each incident was symbolized by a distinct flower of its own. This shows that the ancient Tamils were great lovers of Nature. They lived and loved, ate and drank, fought and made peace, unopposed by the pessimistic considerations of the variety of all earthly joys and necessity for the permanent escape from the woes of life. That the ancient Tamils were not entirely untouched by thoughts of ascetism is shown by the inclusion of a few poems on the evanescence of earthly joys in the tinai called Vahai and some in praise of Gods in the minor sub-division of Padan, but these are but a few in the midst of innumerable poems sung in praise of the ordinary joys of life. These few songs were sung out of keeping with the ancient Tamil spirit. The Brahmana, Buddha, and Jaina ascetics who poured into the land from the V century B. C. onwards succeeded in altering the character of Tamil Poetry before a millennium was past since their advent.

CHAPTER III.

KALAVIYAL.

(Grammar of Prenuptial Love.)

Kalavu or Prenuptial love.

Kalavu is love at first sight, so intense that it leads to immediate consummation. Love at first sight has been the chief subject of poetry and romance throughout the world. It is the most important subdivision of Aham and is taken up for description in the third chapter of Poruladhiharam. Tolkappiyanar is anxious to bring ancient Tamil thought into line with Arya thought introduced late into the Tamil country, because to him, as a Brahmana, the Veda and the Dharma Sastra ancillary to the Veda, are of supreme authority. The Aryas divided the objects of human endeavour into four—Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha, translated into Tamil by Aram, Porul, Inbam and Veedu (duty, wealth, happiness and release from bondage). Of the first three Purusharthas, aims of man, Tolkappiyar tries to assimilate Aram and Porul (duty and wealth) with the Puram of the ancient Tamils and Inbam with Aham. Dharma and Artha (Aram and Porul) can scarcely be equated to Puram; for Puram deals with war, which

is but a small part of the duties of Kings, because Kings have other duties than fighting. Puram, moreover, does not deal with the acquisition of wealth by trade, the production of wealth by agriculture and other objects of life pursued by people who are not kings. Even the identification of Inbam with Aham is not quite correct, for Tolkappiyar restricts it to the union of lovers which is but one of the five incidents of pre-nuptial love. For says the first Suttiram of Kalaviyal, of love, wealth and duty (the three objects of love) love comprises five incidents; of these the union of lovers, if well considered, is seen to be of the same nature as the union of gandharvas who always carry the Yal, which is one of the eight forms of marriage described in the books of the Brahmanas. Traces of the eight forms of marriage are found in the Vedas and they are described in detail in the Epics and the later law-books. They are (1) Brahmma in which a Brahmachari married a maiden before the householder's fire paying a bride-price, (2) Prajapatya, marriage by consent of man and maiden before fire, (3) Arsha, where the bride-price is a bull and cow, (4) Daiva, in which a girl is given as a fee to the fire-priest, (5) Gandharva, union of lovers, (6) Asura, purchase of a wife, (7) Rakshasa, forcible cap-

ture of a wife and (8) Paisacha, forcible union with a sleeping girl. These may be divided into three types:—Prajapatya and Gandharva are forms of marriage by consent; Rakshasa and Paisacha, marriage by capture; the other four, marriage by purchase. It may be inferred that all these eight forms were prevalent among the Aryas; but there is no trace in early Tamil poetry of the existence among the Tamils of any other form of marriage than that by consent. Kalavu and Karpu are both marriage by the consent of the parties. But it is scarcely appropriate to regard Kalavu and Karpu as the same as the Gandharva and the Prajapatya of the Aryas; for the Gandharva was prevalent only among the Kshatriyas and was not followed by the marriage-sacrament in all cases, whereas Kalavu was prevalent amongst all classes of Tamil society and was invariably followed by the sacrament of marriage, and Karpu can scarcely be identified with Prajapatya, for the latter was celebrated in front of the fire and the former was not. There is no evidence in Tamil poetry that marriage by capture was recognised by the Tamils; probably they outgrew this savage custom by the time they became cultured enough to produce poetic literature. Nachchinarkkiniyar quotes a

few Tamil stanzas defining the eight Arya forms of marriage, but these stanzas were composed long after the Arya Sastras were imposed on Tamil India, and even they are but translated of the teachings of the Sastras for the benefit of the Tamils and not descriptions of the actual customs of the Tamil land.

Tolkappiyar reverts, according to the commentator, to this subject of the identification of Arya and Tamil methods of marriage, out of context, later on in this chapter. Three Suttirams are interposed between those dealing with the things which the hero sings about to his sweetheart's friend and those which the heroine speaks of which can be interpreted only to refer to this subject. They are Suttirams 13, 14, 15 which say, a friend is the means of bringing about the twelve; the first three refer to Kaikkilai, the four to Perundinai; the Gandharva beginning with union, and eminent on account of its purity, refers to the five regions. The twelve above referred to, are five tinais of Kalavu, here identified with Gandharva Vivaha, and the seven other forms of Arya marriage. In his anxiety to identify the two different sets of marriage institutions, Tolkappiyar omits to take notice of Karpu, which is not equated to any of the eight Arya marriage

rites. He raises this question after Suttiram 12, because in that Suttiram the part taken by the hero's friend (pangan) in forwarding the love of the hero is referred to. A 'friend', called Áryama, the vicarious 'wooer', was a necessary institution in the ordinary wedding-rite of the Vedic times. The go-between is thus described:—with forelock loosened over his brow, here comes the 'wooer' (Aryama), the man in search of a wife for his friend, in quest of a husband for this bride, a wife for this unmarried man. Often young suitors, sons of wealthy houses, decked their bodies with gold ornaments and accompanied the 'wooer' or go-between. Go-betweens are not necessary for some of the other forms of wedding according to the Sastras. In the case of Kalavu, the pangan, male go-between, appears only in a late stage of the development of the love-proceedings, after the hero and heroine have come together without his help, more than once. Hence to fly off at a tangent, as soon as the word pangan occurs in the usual course of the development of the subject of Kalavu and to say that the friend is a necessary instrument in all the twelve incidents of the eight forms of marriage is an appreciable attempt on the part of the author to assimilate

Tamil customs with Arya ones and to make the social institutions of the Tamil country orthodox in the eyes of those to whom the Arya institutions are alone the proper ones divinely ordained and propounded by the Rishis.

The birth of love.

We may now take up the description of the preliminaries that lead to Kalavu. They are Katchi (the meeting of lovers), aiyam, (doubts) and tunivu (resolution of doubts) described in the next three stanzas. The first meeting of the lovers is due to the impulsion of destiny. Suttiram iii. 2 says, A man and a woman of equal status, belonging to the locality or different localities happen to meet on account of the powerful affinities of previous lives ; this cannot be avoided even if the man be of superior status to the woman. The 'status' referred to includes, according to Nachchinarkkiniyar, the social standing of the families to which the hero and the heroine belong, their education, age, etc. The commentator points out that the phrase 'different localities' indicates that though Kurinji, the hill-country, is the region most appropriate to the first meeting of lovers, such meeting may also take place in other regions. Destiny which inevitably impels the hero to meet the

heroine is the result of attachment between the lovers during previous lives, which survives during their passage through the valley of the shadow of death and which is called 'uluval anbu.' Ordinarily the heroine will be in the company of her playmates; hence the hero's meeting her when standing by herself remote from companions can be brought about only by destiny. The belief that man is born and reborn frequently on earth, which it is usual now to call the theory of reincarnation, may have prevailed among the Tamils even before their contact with Arya culture; because the Tamil terms relating to this belief, such as 'ool,' are not adaptations of Sanskrit words. Love at first sight is explained in European scientific theory as due to physical causes, such as the attraction of opposite qualities, the blond loving the brunette, the tall, the short, etc., or chemical causes, such as the tropisms produced by swells and other emanations from the body. Religious-minded Europeans regard love as due to mystic, *i.e.*, inexplicable, affinities preordained by God. But Indian thought has always considered that love endures through the sleep of death and that the sudden birth of uncontrollable love is due to desires which have persisted from previous lives and are hence under the control of inevitable destiny.

Katchi is followed by Aiyam; when the lovers first meet, doubts arise in the mind of the hero whether the vision of the beloved person he has seen be not that of an attainable divine being. It is the greatest possible compliment which the hero's mind can offer to the heroine, to entertain a doubt whether she may not be a goddess. Such a doubt is eminently befitting a superior hero, but is not proper to the heroine. He has the knowledge that will help him to resolve the doubt, but such a doubt in the mind of a woman, who is inferior to the man in courage, will lead to fear which will kill love. The means by which the hero can decide that the person he has met is a human and not a divine being are as follows:—Bees swarming round the face, attracted by the earthly flowers she wears, ornaments made by human hands which beautify her person, streaks of sandal paste on her shoulders and breasts, the lily-flower held in the hand, eyes of flesh (and not ethereal ones), trepidation on meeting the hero, winking (heavenly beings never wink), shrinking with modesty: these and other marks of humanity have been declared by Ahattiyanar. Some of the other marks are, feet touching the ground (heavenly feet never touch the earth), the body casting a shadow (ethereal bodies do not cast a

shadow), perspiration, etc. These points of distinction between the bodies of mortals and those of celestials are a part of the ancient folk-love of the whole of Tamil land. By these tests the hero decides that the person he has met is a human beauty and that he can make love to her.

The course of true love.

The course of true love is divided into four stages. These stages are explicitly mentioned in the general grammar of poetry called Seyyuliyal (Chapter VIII). Love union, meeting at a rendezvous, meeting her by means of the help of the hero's male friend, and assignation arranged by the heroine's female friend ; these constitute the four stages of Kalavu which is regarded as a form of legitimate marriage, though the usual wedding-rites have not been gone through. Hence the friends of the hero and the heroine who strive to arrange for the meeting of lovers are regarded as bridesmen and bridesmaids. The first meeting of the lovers is arranged by destiny ; they then arrange for a rendezvous ; but the help of friends is needed for arranging further frequent meetings. Kamappunarchchi is further subdivided into Ullappunarchchi and Meyyurupunarchchi (union of hearts and union of bodies).

First — love passages: 'Kamappunarchchi'.

At the first birth of love, wordless messages pass between the lovers. The looks of the two are the means of signifying the message of the union of their hearts. The learned say that when loving looks have been understood, other indications of love take place automatically. These indications of love are enumerated by Tolkappiyar in the chapter dealing with the expressions of the emotions (Meyppattiyal, Chapter VI). Three sets of four indications each belong to the stage from the meeting of the lovers to their union and three more such sets, to that between their union and the discovery by other people of their Kalavu. Of these the first set consists of the following:— the heroine looking to see whether the hero looks at her, perspiration on the forehead, suppressing smiles, suppressing looks of distress. The next are the done-up hair of the head falling down of its own accord, the earrings slipping from the ears, pushing up the bangles which keep slipping down to the wrist and clothes getting loose and being refastened frequently. The third set are covering the *mons veneris* with the hands (when the clothes slip down), tightening the waist-string when it gets loose, resisting strongly the advances of the hero, pretending

to dislike him. and (when the man has mastered her) lifting up her hands to embrace him. Of these twelve, as the commentator explains, the first is referred to in Suttiram 5 and the other eleven in Suttiram 6.

The ideal hero and heroine.

For love to spring so suddenly and attain immediate consummation, the hero should possess the following character:—Greatness and strength belong to the man. The commentator enumerates the elements of greatness to be wisdom, spirit, renown, charity, keeness of intelligence, good humour, affability, fear of sin, etc., and the elements of strength to perseverance, constancy, daring, etc. The characteristics of an ideal heroine are modesty, delicacy, feminity of mind, etc., felt always. The last characteristic is called Madan. This word ordinarily means foolishness, but, when applied to heroines, it means the opposite of virility, the tendency to become easily perturbed. These feminine characteristics are again discussed by Tolkappiyar in Suttirams 17-19 and the meaning of these Suttirams may be incorporated here. The modesty and feminity that belong to the heroine are exhibited by her glances during love-passages and during the other three stages of Kalavu, but not

otherwise. But as during love-passages, the woman declares her love, then these two characteristics are suppressed, so say the learned. It is not unusual for the heroine to give up her modesty and feminity when speaking to her friend about her love.

After Consummation.

Lovers who have entered into the relation of Kalavu exhibit the following nine characteristics: Unceasing amorous desire, constantly thinking of each other, emaciation of the body, talking much of the beloved person, transcending the bounds of modesty by describing the love-relation to friends, constantly fearing that every person they meet can read their thoughts of love, forgetting their usual amusements, speaking to birds and beasts about their love under the delusion that they could understand their words, threatening to do deeds of violence like Madalerudal or commit suicide. The hero after parting from his lover would behave in the following manner:—Addressing a bee or one's own mind, replying on behalf of these, response to such reply further describing his love, realizing the self-control of the heroine shown by her being without smiles, consoling her during her sufferings, describing his own sufferings and assuring her of his constancy. The nine

characteristics of Suttiram 9 are common to the hero and the heroine; the seven of Suttiram 10 are peculiar to the hero. All these are themes for poems according to tradition.

The three stages of Kalavu.

Meeting by assignation is the second stage of Kalavu according to later writers. But before the lovers meet at a previously appointed rendezvous, the anxiety of the hero to meet her will bring about their second meeting. Love-passages during such meeting are of eight kinds:—the lover touching the beloved (as if accidentally), stroking face under the pretence of flicking a speck of dust off it, covert embrace when possible, complaining to her that she prevents embrace (by leaning on a tree, etc.,) lamenting for her delaying their union, her conquering shame and contact with him, the hero getting the delights he longs for and swearing eternal love to her. This stage is called Idandalaippadudal, which Tolkappiyar conceives as further meetings of lovers without the help of their friends. But the later writers regard this as meeting by assignation, agreed upon by the lovers or brought about by the friend of the hero or heroine. Chances of meeting the beloved, without the help of a go-between will be but a few and far between. Meanwhile the hero's

friend, technically called Pangan, observes the peculiar behaviour of the hero, such as has been described in Suttirams 9 and 10; the hero himself discovers the situation to his friend and seeks his help in the affair. This gives occasion to poems on the four following themes:—the bliss experienced by the hero, the pain of separation accentuated by the fact that the heroine is always surrounded by her playmates, the hero's friend denouncing his weakness in thus yielding to passion to which the hero replies by describing the distress of his mind, and lastly the friend himself seeking means to end the hero's distress, such as going in search of the heroine, admiring her beauty and trying to find out when the hero could meet her alone. This stage is called by Tolkappiyar Pangodutalal and later writers Pangarkuttam. The commentator points out that the Pangan is a Brahmana by varna; this idea is due to the convention that in Sanskrit drama, the King, who is the hero, has a Brahman as the court-wit and a go-between to help him to secure the affection of a girl to whom he has lost his heart, to get him out of scrapes when the senior wives of the King discover his love-adventures, to soothe him when he is in trouble and to gratulate him when he is happy. But surely there was Kalavu in the Tamil land, before Brah-

manas migrated thereto or the idea of four varnas spread there. Hence the Pangan could not have always been a Brahmana. The fourth stage of Kalavu is called by Tolkappiyar Toliyin-punarvu and by later writers Toliyirkuttam. The hero's male friend cannot do much to forward the progress of his love; so the lovers turn to the heroine's playmate and tries to secure her help. The hero finds out who is constantly in attendance on his sweetheart, and, for making her the door that will lead to the full realization of his desires, he pulls her aside; he makes enquiries about her name and her residence, etc., gives garlands as presents, gets into conversation with her and hints to her about his troubles. By this time the friend gets to understand the actual relations of the hero and the heroine. He tells her that his sweetheart does not give him enough help to realize his desires and begs for an assignation, but he is put off; she raises difficulties, even though the heroine herself affords him faciiities to meet her, the friend speaks about harm which might befall the heroine and the strict guard placed on her movements and thus prevents their meeting; the hero, then, driven to despair and threatens to commit suicide by mounting the wooden horse (madal-erudal)

The friend also tries to put the lover off by saying that the heroine is too young for love-passages; the hero becomes emaciated from unsatisfied passion; the friend smiles on him to indicate her approval of the suit and arranges for an assignation; he is delighted with her for helping him; yet further difficulties arise on his way to the rendezvous; all these themes (those mentioned in Suttirams 11 and 12) are fit subjects for poems in which the hero is the speaker. The heroine's friend understanding the relations between the lovers, approval of the same and resolving to further the cause of their love are technically called Madiyudambaduthal.

Assignation.

The subject of assignation, however, is taken by the author later (*i.e.*, in Suttirams 39-43 of this chapter); but it may be better discussed here. The assignation is made by indication which only the hero and the heroine and the female friend can understand of the place where the lovers can meet by day or night. The night assignation is, when the lover cannot freely enter the house for meeting her, within the compound-wall of the house, but outside the building, in a place where the talk of the inmates could be heard. To such a place

the heroine will not be afraid to go and it will enable her to warn him from within the house of any difficulty that may suddenly have arisen.

Characteristics of the behaviour of the lovers from their first embrace to the discovery of their love.

From the time of the first passionate union of the lovers up to the time when their love-union becomes known to the parents of the heroine and their formal wedding in accordance with conventional rites is celebrated, the following nine points will characterize their behaviour:—They will feel unchanging love for each; they will be constantly thinking of each other; their bodies will become emaciated; when difficulties occur, they will intrepret them as facilities (thus, when the lover does not get access to his mistress, he will still regard it as due to her love, and when the hero parts from her, she will also regard it as due to his love); they will transcend the limits of shame (thus he will disclose his love to his friend and she to her playmate); when people look at them, they will think that their secret thoughts of love are being discovered; they will give up their usual amusements (he, his hunting, and she, her parrot and play-

things); they will speak of their love to birds and beasts; they will even be prepared to give up their lives; these excellent characteristics befit the Kalavu relation, says the preceptor.

Special characteristics of the hero on parting from his sweetheart.

The lovers cannot long be together; their parting causes the hero to console her. This is done in seven different ways:—He addresses a bee, his heart, etc., and dilates on his love to her; he requests them to speak of his love to her; speaking in their behalf he expatiates on his great love (thus he removes her doubts about his constancy); he speaks of parting and notes that, as she does not smile much, she is suppressing the grief of parting; he protests that he feels very much the grief of parting; he describes the state of his mind; he comforts her: the learned say that all these take place on their parting.

The four stages of Kalavu.

The whole course of the Kalavu love-relation is divided into four stages:—Love-union, their meeting in places agreed upon, their meeting arranged by his friend and their meeting arranged by her playmate—these four meetings are declared as fit subjects by those that know all about Kalavu. The first

meeting of the lovers is of course accidental, *i.e.*, as described by the poets, impelled by destiny. The next few meetings are either casual or arranged by the heroine. It is true that modesty, which is the chief characteristic of the heroine however strong her love may be, prevents her from making advances; Tolkappiyar says, 'as beasts whose quality is different from those of men do, the woman does not express her love to the man; in the absence of such indication, he infers it from her love pouring out of her limbs, as water oozes from a new pot. But yet, as the love-union takes place secretly, it is but right that the heroine should become her own messenger; as it is her duty not to cross his wishes, she has to tell him where he could meet her next, for she knows the places to which she can resort. But, after all, meetings arranged by his mistress can but be few and far between. So he takes a friend of his into his confidence; that friend goes and finds out when and where the heroine is likely to be alone and thus brings about the meeting of the lovers. The functions of the Pangan, the hero's companion are discussed in three Suttirams which are most obscure, *viz.*, iii. 13-15. They say the functions of the Pangan are twelve. Of these the first three belong to Kaikkilai, and the last four to Perun-

dinai; the way of the Gandharvas, which follows the first, is excellent without defects, and pertains to the five regions. Probably Ahattiyar, the teacher has in his grammar enumerated twelve functions of the Pangan and Tolkappiyar here describes the distribution of these functions among seven forms of Kalavu. But the commentator explains the twelve to be the five tinais of Kalavu (Gandharva Vivaham) and the seven other forms of the Arya schemes of marriages. This explanation is entirely out of place for this chapter is only about Kalavu, it does not deal with the five tinais of Aham and much less with the Arya marriage-institutions; nor can the Arya marriages be subdivided into a set of three corresponding to Kaikkilai and another set of four corresponding to Perundinai. Surely the Pangan existed and exercised his twelve functions, whatever they were, before the Arya Dharma Sastras were promulgated in the Tamil country. Nachchinarkiniyar also says that the Pangan is often a Brahmana. Certainly there were Pangans long before the Brahmanas began to settle in South India. The idea of Brahmanas serving as Pangans has been transferred to Tamil poetics from the practice which obtains in Sanskrit Dramas. But the hero's companion cannot do much to

forward the cause of the lovers. The heroine is surrounded by the friends except for three days in a month and save for a day or two at other times. The chief among such friends is technically the Toli, who is the daughter of the heroine's foster-mother. The foster-sister soon discovers the love-relations between the heroine and the hero; and furthers their cause. This is technically called Madiyudambadudhal. This discovery is made in one of three ways:—she may find it out from the earnest questions and entreaties made by the lover; she may discover it from his looks; she may infer it from his frequently turning up when the heroine and she herself are together; thus Madiyudambadudhal is in three ways. After this the hero seeks the help of the foster-sister to further the cause of his love. Except after the Toli knows about their love in these ways, he does not get her help. It is her part to bring about the meeting of the lovers when the hero and the heroine desire it. The heroine's disclosure of her love is technically called Arattodunilai. The heroine's friends, the foster-mother and the foster-sister, love her very much and are in many hundred ways devoted to her welfare and can be the means of accomplishing her desire; so it is her duty to declare her pas-

sion. Arattodunilai literally means devotion to duty ; hence it is the indication of the heroine's loyal constancy of love to her lover. It is of seven kinds :—speaking in disparagement of the hero, speaking in praise of him, expressing her desires, consulting diviners, pointing out the cause of her love (such as that he saved her from an elephant, a tiger, a dog, a flood, etc., or that he gave her garlands of flowers or leaves), declaring that their meeting was casual, or describe the actual state of their affections. The foster-sister thenceafterwards takes an active part in furthering their loves, arranges rendezvous herself, because she also goes to the places to which the heroine can resort. She keeps their love secret from others, till circumstances make it necessary to reveal the state of affairs, to her own mother, the foster-mother of the girl. The foster-mother in her turn tells the tale of the heroine's true love to the natural mother, who informs her husband, who, if the hero comes of respectable stock, arranges for the formal marriage of the lovers.

The course of true love is sometimes not so smooth. The lovers may from the beginning find exceedingly irksome the restrictions

placed on the heroine's movements by the people in her house; they may not be satisfied with the few rendezvous that could be arranged by their friends; the foster-mother, and more especially, the natural mother and the father may not approve of the marriage; then the lovers take the law into their own hands and run away. This elopement is technically called Kondutalaikkalidhal. People that meet the adventurous lovers on the road try to persuade them to give up the flight; the foster-mother and parents of the heroine search for her and, if they overtake the young people, try to persuade the girl to return to their house. Such developments are described in chapter I and need not again be discussed here.

Idandalaip-padal—meeting at rendezvous.

Of the four stages of Kalavu above described, the first, *i.e.*, the accidental meeting of the lovers and the irresistible impulse to union, in defiance of all other considerations, such as shame, modesty and self-control, has been already described. The next three stages are described in the long Suttiram iii. 11. Between the first and second meetings of the lovers, there is time for the feelings of shame and modesty, natural to

women, to assert themselves. Hence woman is not likely to be as precipitate as during their first embrace, and the lover has to proceed very gradually. He touches her to watch what response the touch produces; he says that there is a speck of dust on her hair or her forehead and proceeds to flick it off; he tries to embrace her when it is possible; he complains that she does not afford him facilities for embracing her (by leaning on a tree, etc.); laments the lapse of time; she yields herself to him; he gets his happiness soon; he feels endless satisfaction; poems about the above eight subjects form Idandalaip-padu.

Pangodutalal: meeting arranged by the hero's companion.

The hero after parting from his sweetheart feels distress; his companion notices this, and finding out the cause of the distress, reminds the hero of his duties and of the consequences of his yielding to passion; he finds his remonstrances to be of no avail and desires to help him in his amour; (incidentally he goes in quest of the heroine, admires her beauty and approves of the hero's tastes, finds out when she is free and sends the hero to her).

Toliyirpunarvu; meetings arranged by the foster-sister.

As his companion cannot arrange rendezvous often enough to satisfy his longings, the hero disires to obtain a go-between and on the heroine's pointing out her foster-sister as the best person to bring them together, he stays behind the foster-sister to secure her help; he meets her (either when she is by herself or in the company of the heroine) and asks her, to what place do you belong, what is your name? have you seen the quarry I am hunting for? and puts other similar questions which make her see what he is aiming at (these constitute the first stage of Madiyudambadudhal, already explained and called Kuraiyurupahudi); then he speaks in such a way that the foster-sister sees clearly that he loves the heroine; he begs her to arrange rendezvous; he entreats her in other ways such as by presenting garlands, etc.; the heroine, moved by the earnest entreaties of her lover, herself arranges a rendezvous; when the foster-sister has forgotten his request, he describes to her what suffering she has caused to the heroine and how patiently she has undergone it; the foster-sister may put off their meeting by telling the heroine is carefully guarded and he thereupon may threaten to kill himself by mounting the

Madal (wooden horse); all these are fit subjects for poetry. The foster-sister may try to dissuade him by saying that the heroine is too young and otherwise unfit for love-passages; his heart may melt with love and he may become emaciated thereby; he may smile on account of his love; his heart may swell with joy when the foster-sister agrees to help him; he may meet with difficulties on his way to the rendezvous; all these are proper topics for poems regarding the fourth stage of Kalavu, called Toliyirpunardal.

Assignation.

The heroine or her foster-sister makes assignations. A rendezvous, says the teacher, is a place which the lovers know and where they can meet by night or by day. The assignation by night is arranged in the earlier stages of their intrigue when they cannot meet inside the house; the rendezvous is behind the outer wall of the house and within earshot of the inmates. This is so that if the heroine finds it impossible to meet her lover at the time agreed upon, she may warn him from within the house. As the heroine will feel afraid to go far from the house at night, the rendezvous is between the house and the outer compound-wall. When the love-intrigue is advanced, the heroine may become bold enough to

arrange for an interview with the lover even within the house; this will take place if the foster-mother suspects that the heroine goes out of the house by night. The rendezvous by day is, a place outside the house to which the hero can resort in such a manner that the heroine can know he is there. As soon as he reaches the place, he makes a sound by splashing water, by disturbing birds at rest and making them fly, etc., so that the heroine or the foster-sister may know that he has arrived there. These signals may take place by natural causes and thus mislead the heroine or her friend, into thinking that the hero has arrived at the place of assignation. This is technically called Allakurippadudhal. As the Suttiram says, the mistaking of the signal pertains to the foster-sister if it occurs so as to make her think falsely that the hero has reached the rendezvous. If the hero misses the heroine's company on account of a like cause, he too feels distress, and this too, is a fit topic for poems.

To avoid such disappointment the hero, when trying to keep up an assignation is not deterred by the difficulties of the road, by lack of strength of mind, by fear of serpents and wild beasts and other difficulties. If necessary,

says the teacher, he will go to the rendezvous in chariots or on elephants or horses or otherwise. And he does not give up the Kalavu (love union) because of the inauspiciousness of the hour or the day when they meet. The regular wedding-rite, which comes off as the last event of Kalavu (the course of prenuptial love) or the first event of Karpu (the course of post-nuptial love), is celebrated when the hour and the day are favoured by the planets; but the imperious demands of secret love cannot brook opposition from the unfavourable aspect of the heavenly bodies.

Topics of poems in which the heroine is the speaker.

Absence of forwardness in speech or action and modesty much prized in women. Modesty and self-restraint develop the girl when she reaches the stage of youth; her looks and gestures indicate these qualities during love-passages, and also during the consummation of desire, but not otherwise. As there is no love-union without expressing the love felt, these two qualities become modified, at that moment, says the preceptor. But it is no uncommon to speak to the foster-sister without modesty and self-restraint; she expresses her feelings to her not merely by signs but also in words.

The subjects about which the heroine speaks freely to her foster-sister are all topics for poems in which the heroine is the speaker and these manifold topics are as follows:—The assignation may by day or by night; may miscarry by the accidental occurrence of the signal agreed upon; their meeting may be obstructed (after she has heard his signal on account of her mother's wakefulness, the people of the town not having gone to sleep, watchmen keeping strict watch, the rise of the moon, the watchfulness of dogs, etc.); being sure that her lover has gone to the rendezvous and left there signs of his having gone there, by fixing his ring or garland to a bough, and desiring to see the evidence of her lover's presence there the previous night, she may go at dawn to the rendezvous and feel distressed on account of the strength of her love; the lover may go to her house during the hour of meal when his sweetheart is not there and may be invited to dinner and as he cannot avoid it, he may be detained there; the foster-sister may entertain him at a feast to help him; when he goes away for wars the heroine may find her modesty too troublesome and resolve to give it up by being prepared to elope with him, etc., the foster-sister, desirous that the hero should marry the

heroine according to formal wedding-rites may speak in disparagement of him for not doing so and then the heroine speaks in defence of her lover ; she may desire that her relatives should agree to their wedding ; if her marriage to another person is proposed, she may decline it and ask the foster-sister to ask the lover to offer to marry her ; these, the learned say, are topics pertaining to the heroine. There are, besides the above, several themes inspired by her consciousness of the supreme love she feels for the hero and fear that his affections may have been alienated from her. She may, herself being concealed, keep on looking at him when he goes away after visiting her; she may out of modesty, keep herself out of his sight and yet desire that he should know that she is wasting in despair, she may wish to denounce him for his alienation from her but out of excessive love be unable to speak ; she may refuse to accept his courtship and yet desire to accept them ; when the lover has smiled on her, she may mildly express her joy to her foster-sister ; she may meet him casually and desire his company and feel distressed that he may disregard her ; or, then, she may be overcome by excessive modesty ; she may be lament a short spell of separation from him ; he may deliberately make himself

scarce; if his visits should be rare, she may regard them as unreal (as visits in a dream); she may speak of her troubles to the foster-sister and abstain from speaking about it in the presence of others; she may become distressed (because the lover has violated his vow to marry her); she may feel fear (that the Gods would punish him for thus violating his vow); she may regret when she has to part from him; she may feel exultation when she meets him again; she may speak about the difficulties which the lover may encounter when he tries to visit her; the foster-sister may accuse the lover of dilatoriness and the heroine may contradict her; she may speak to her friend about the galling restrictions placed on her movements by the people in her house; when no one speaks on her behalf, she may herself speak about her woes; proposals to marry her to some other person may be made and as such a marriage will be a death-blow to her, she may decline it; she may conceal signs of her distress from the keen-observation of her foster-sister and foster-mother; the foster-sister who feels the heroine's troubles as much as her own may complain about her lover's neglect, and, in reply, the heroine may derive consolation by describing her first meeting with the lover, and

his courting in the eight different ways (described in *Por.* iii. 11, lines 1-6); she might regard his threats to mount the wooden horse (madal) as false ones ; the foster-sister may fail to comfort her and failing to do so, wipe the tears off the heroine's face ; the fostermother noting the heroine's melancholy and other features may propose to consult the priest of the God Muruhan (Velan) and the heroine may be afraid that this will further alienate the lover from her ; she may feel disappointed by the accidental occurrence of signals, like those agreed upon between the heroes ; the hero may propose to celebrate the weeding-rite (either before or after their secret love has been discovered by others); he may behave in such a way that their love-relations may become known to others ; the Kalavu having been discovered by others, her foster-mother and others have to stand by her; after an assignation, she may be unable to go to the rendezvous, and the lover may have gone away disappointed, and she may express her regrets that her own default was the cause of the miscarriage of the assignation; the foster-sister may accuse the lover of neglect, and she may know it to be true; time and place not being propitious, disappointment may cause distress to the mind ; her love may

become excessive; his love may become excessive; their love-relations being well-conducted, they may feel transports of joy; all these (thrity-six) are occasions in some of which she is conscious of her devotion to him and in others of his alienation from her.

There are also other subjects about which the heroine may speak. They are :—After the marriage is agreed upon, the hero may delay it and the heroine may regret the delay; when he has not arranged for the weeding, he may accidentally meet her or her friends; she may speak to her foster-sister intending that the latter should communicate it to her lover; these are occasions when the heroine may speak on her own initative. To preserve one's modesty is more important than to preserve one's life; regard for faultless chastity and loyalty to the lover is greater than regard for modesty; remembering these precepts of the elders, the heroine may of herself go to the lover and, unable to control herself, may speak to him; this pertains to Aham; and other similar speeches are proper topics of Aham.

It may be remarked here that many of the topics on which the heroine may speak are described by Tolkappiyar in the terse phrase

that is characteristic of the style of Sutras. It is impossible to understand them without supplying ideas not expressed but implied; so long as the commentaries to the Sutras were handed down by the tradition from master to pupil, there was no difficulty in interpreting them. But that tradition was lost some centuries after the age of Tolkappiyar. The authors of the existing commentaries had therefore to rely on their own ingenuity for interpreting the terse phrases of Tolkappiyar's Suttirams. While their interpretation of the great majority of these phrases is manifestly correct, the hesitation they feel in explaining a few very obscure ones and the alternative explanations they offer and the fact that one commentator differs from another when dealing with them, show that the tradition having been lost, the interpretations of such phrases are not reliable. Another fact too is noticeable. Tolkappiyar apparently had before him a collection of ancient odes on the various themes of Purattinai and Ahattinai, from whence he made his lists of topics for poems dealing with them. Some of these old poems were lost by the time the commentators lived; so they seem to have made an anthology of odes current in their time and interpret obscure phrases to suit the quotations available.

This is proved by the fact that some of their quotations are from poems later than Tolkappiyar's age. Moreover they are unable to give quotations to illustrate a few of the topics referred to by the author. Hence one cannot be certain that the rendering of the phrases describing a few of the themes represents what the author intended.

Topics for poems of which the foster-sister is the speaker.

The toli (playmate of the heroine) is the daughter of her foster-mother and is hence her constant companion. Hence the Kalavu-relation between the hero and the heroine cannot be long hid from her scrutiny. She infers it from seven signs:—agreeable scents (of sandal paste, saffron and flowers) may issue from the body of the heroine when she returns from visiting her lover; her looks, unlike the innocent looks of a young girl and her shoulders and breasts may betray the fact that she has met a lover; her womanly disdain of the functions of little girls in the company of her playmates; her indifference to food on account of preoccupation with thoughts of love; her concealing her thoughts and movements from the notice of others; her not moving about freely with her playmates as usual but constantly resorting to one particu-

lar spot; her sleeping not as usual on the bosom of her foster-mother, but by herself. These seven signs are visible so long as the heroine keeps meeting her lover by herself, without the help of her foster-sister. From these the toli infers that the heroine has entered into love-relations with the hero. Then while still serving her faithfully, she begins to speak to the heroine; her first words have a double meaning and are about various true and false things, for the purpose of discovering the state of mind of the heroine. As illustration of the true and false things mentioned with double meaning, the commentator gives, 'let us go and worship the crescent moon', 'I have seen an elephant wounded by an arrow', 'there is one who is speaking of things not befitting his dignity', 'I wish you would meet him', 'he wanted to embrace me and I refused his embrace', etc. The above eight form the investigation of the foster-sister. Then she speaks to the hero; she refuses to help him and this gives rise to eight topics of poems. They are:—When he goes to her to express his wants she seeks to turn him off from his object by pretending not to understand him and by praising the greatness of his status; on the next occasion she puts him off by

saying that as is usual in the world a man who desires a woman ought to marry her; when he seeks her a third time, she says that the heroine's love is hard to attain; she next says that he ought to declare his love to the heroine and seek her help; she riducules them as two foolish young people; after this the foster-sister admits her knowledge of the intimacy of the lovers; she now encourages the hero by saying that she is aware of their relations; but she would express him the heroine's fear of her parents and the need for caution on his part; and she may advise the heroine to meet her lover. These form eight topics. Though he is before them, she may pretend that he has not come and scold him for default and note how patiently he puts up with her scolding; after the lovers have met again, she may show deference to him; when he begs for her help, she may sympathize with his troubles and represent them to the heroine; the latter may then, on account of modesty, not act up to her friend's advice, and the foster-sister may hint to her that she knows all about their previous relations in three ways (first union, rendezvous, and with his friend's help) and beg her in various ways to accede to the lover's requests; the heroine consenting, her friend may desire to communi-

cate the fact to the lover; she may note that the heroine smiles in various ways because the lover is so very backward. The hero may ask the foster-sister to arrange rendezvous by day or by night; he may not desire the company of his mistress and desire to separate from her; the heroine may desire to help the lover; the foster-sister may desire to describe the greatness of her friend's love where it is not appreciated by the lover; she may have to recommend the heroine to the special care of the hero; she may have to cause pain to the heroine by plain speaking; when the heroine pines for the presence of the lover who has gone away, she may have to impress on her mind the greatness of his love; she may speak about the difficulties of the road through which the hero ought to pass to come to her, about the harsh words of those whose duty it is to guard the heroine; when he out of his great love requires her to fix a time and a place for meeting his sweetheart, she, instead of doing so, speaks of other subjects, such as the land, the town, the house, the family, his high birth, his excellence; these constitute the other topics. She may desire him on account of the above considerations to marry the heroine formally; the mother of the heroine may come to suspect that her daughter

has contracted love-relations and she may have to say that it is not true; on account of other duties the lover may have to part with his mistress; the heroine may be possessed with melancholy (because of the strictness of the watch placed over her, or of her inordinate love, or of the hero's refusal to marry her, or of the close scrutiny of the foster-mother or others) and the foster-mother may propose to take her to witch-doctors for treatment when the foster-sister calmly speaks of their faultless love; people may set about to arrange for the marriage of the heroine with a stranger and then she has to inform the lovers of it; the heroine may have to refuse to accept the proposed husband; the foster-sister may have to disclose to her own mother and through her to the heroine's mother of the mutual attachment of the lovers; she may have to urge on the hero the necessity to marry his sweetheart and on the heroine the necessity for patience till it is done; these are thirty-two topics pertaining to the excellent toli.

Themes for the poems of which the foster-mother is the speaker.

The 'sevili' (nurse) is called the mother, because she is capable of discovering the Kalavu of her foster-daughter better than her own mother, and of speaking freely about it. The occasions

for her speaking are :—when people begin to gossip about the Kalavu; when the facial expressions of the heroine betray her love; when her eyes and shoulders and breasts by appearance betray her excessive love; when she notices the hero coming to the house frequently and the heroine often going out; when she takes the heroine to a Kurava witch or a priest of Muruhan, the former to discover the cause of the heroine's melancholy by divination with the help of grains of rice spread on a plate, and the latter by means of his mystic songs and dances; when these methods have not cured the heroine of her distemper; when the heroine on account of excessive love talks in her sleep; when the foster-mother interrogates her own daughter on the subject; when after learning the truth from her daughter **she prays to the Gods to bless the love**; when after the heroine has eloped with her lover, she is pleased with the constancy of the love; when she has to stay behind after the heroine has gone away with her lover; when she thinks that the heroine in thus going away has forgotten the love she bore for the foster-mother; when she may approve of the step, considering the respectability of the families of the hero and the

heroine; these thirteen and other similar topics pertain to the foster-mother.

The mother of the heroine.

The mother of the heroine learns about the Kalavu into which her daughter has entered and, if she approves of it like the foster-mother, the above thirteen topics are not excluded from those that pertain to her. But when she is not sure that her daughter has not contracted a mesalliance, she may consult elders of established reputation and get her doubts cleared. The mother thus informs the father and the elder sister just as the foster-mother informed her, or the father and the elder sister may learn about the Kalavu by their own observation of the heroine, and not from others.

Ceremonial wedding.

The Kalavu may gradually become known to the people of the town ; they will begin to talk about it at first in whispers and then openly; then it is the duty of the hero to acknowledge it and arrange for a formal marriage with the heroine. Such marriage is of two kinds, says the sage—that celebrated after the Kalavu has become known to people at large and that performed before such an

event. Even the marriage after the Kalavu has become known to all is as good as Karpu-marriage; and after the marriage has been arranged he ought not to part from his mistress for the three purposes mentioned in *Por* i, 25, *viz.*, study, war, and embassy. But adds Nachchinarkkiniyar, he may delay the marriage if he has to go to distant places to earn money for giving his betrothed a dowry or to fight in defence of his king.

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